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MISSIONS AMONG THE KICKAPOO AND OSAGE IN KANSAS, 1820-1860

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PREFACE

To compare missions among the Kickapoo and the Osage presented two major problems. The first was finding adequate source material. Fortunately, the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka had microfilm copies of the Kickapoo Missionary Papers originally collected by the Presbyterian Historical Society at Philadelphia, complete sets of the Missionary Herald, Annual Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. A microfilm copy of the Christian Advocate and Zion's Herald was also available at the Kansas State Historical Library. At St. Mary's College, I found microfilm copies of many of the letters and writings of Father Paul Mary Ponziglione, a Catholic Osage missionary. The originals can be found in the Jesuit Archives in St. Louis.

Besides these sources, the Kansas State Historical Society Collections printed numerous articles about Indians and missions in Kansas. Three of these articles (a history of Methodist missions by J. J. Lutz, a personal testimony by a Methodist Kickapoo missionary, and collected letters of Methodist missionaries) were especially helpful. The many books of William W. Graves, which contain collected letters and journals of both Catholic and Protestant Osage missionaries, while not complete, were useful. Because of his painstaking documentation, the best source for Catholic missions was Father Gilbert J. Garraghan's The Jesuits of the Middle United States. While some material from the Annual Reports and Bulletins of the Bureau of Ethnology were used, the principle sources for tribal history were John Mathew's The Osages, and A. M. Gibson's The Kickapoos.

Except for the Kickapoo Presbyterian mission, all of the missions had received the prior attention of historians. While Catholic mission history was adequately written, Methodist history was fragmented, and Osage

Protestant history was greatly editorialized. Thus, the source material for this study varied greatly and caused unequal presentation.

The second problem resulted from approaching these sources without a clearly defined thesis. Believing that a thesis would prejudice the collecting of data for this comparison, I consequently had to gather more material than was necessary. Only towards the end of reading all sources did I discover an adequate method of recording this study.

With each mission developed separately through the periods of Optimism, Doubt, and Withdrawal, four questions interlace this organization. "Did the denominations vary their programs to meet the needs and conditions of different tribes?" "Were there serious theological differences between denominations in conducting mission work?" "Was there a distinction made between Christianizing and civilizing?" "How important was the capability of the missionary?" While this study does not deal only with these, their recurrence in all source material make them of major importance.

Assuming that each reader would have a general knowledge of American Indians and Christian missions, I still found it necessary to provide a short resume of Kickapoo and Osage history so that problems faced by missionaries could be readily grasped. Excepting for brief genealogies, the same background was not furnished for missionary societies because missions were judged by performance rather than by past proclamation. This study, therefore, contributes to the general fields of mission and Indian history, and to an understanding of the problems of acculturation.

CHAPTER I

PERIOD BEFORE MISSIONS

Even before Frederick Jackson Turner activated historians to search for material on the influence of the Frontier in American society, anthropologists were collecting and classifying data about Indians and their cultures. These anthropologists rushed to study primitive cultures from fear that the Indians would soon become extinct and their history lost forever. Letters and journals of missionaries were scarcely considered by anthropologists, who were interested in primitive cultures before acculturation and who felt missionaries were not always accurate observers of the Indian. However, in recent times, missionary records have helped illuminate early confrontations of Indian and European, and have helped eliminate the oversimplified conclusion that the white man's culture became dominant because it was best.

One needs only to look at old maps of Eastern Kansas to realize the wide extent of missionary activity among Indians during the migratory period following 1820. A map of 1814,¹ which shows the Osage tribe to the South of the Kaw River, and the Kansas tribe to the north, indicated no missions had been established. Just fifteen years later, the Kansas and Osage tribes had yielded land to the Delaware, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Ottawa, Wea, Piankishaw, Peoria and Kaskaskia, and each reservation contained at least one mission. Following the treaties of 1854, after the majority of tribes had ceded land to the government, missions still dotted the map.

To determine the success or failure of Indian missions from 1820

¹ See Robert W. Baughman, Kansas in Maps (Topeka, Kansas: The Kansas State Historical Society, 1961).

to 1860, one must first compare missions of different denominations located within one Indian tribe; second, one must compare missions of one denomination located in two different tribes. In order to make as valid a comparison as possible, one must find tribes that differed culturally. Of all the Indians in Kansas, the missions of the Kickapoo and Osage meet the basic requirements for such a comparison. The tribes differed because they represented separate linguistic groups and cultures; because only one was native to the territory, and because contact with European culture varied. Also, both tribes were served by Presbyterian and Roman Catholic missions. Therefore, the differences between the tribes and the presence of missions of the same denominations on both reserves supplied the necessary elements for comparison.

Since the period under study of these missions does not begin until 1820, a brief history of the Osage and Kickapoo to that time, and a short introduction to Missionary Societies is necessary.

Osage

The Osage tribe was one of the few that remained on its own soil during the entire period when European culture spread through North America. At one time the tribe controlled an area bounded on the east by the Mississippi River, on the north by the Missouri and Kansas Rivers, on the south by the Arkansas and Red Rivers, and to the west by the Rocky Mountains. Their villages on the Osage and Missouri Rivers served as permanent dwellings, while the western plains served as hunting grounds for the semi-annual buffalo hunt. Since they are a part of the Siouian linguistic family, the Osage tribe was closely related to the Kansas, Quapaw, Ponca and Omaha Indians.

The Osage believed that they descended from the sky as a result of

the Mystery Force, Wah'kon-tah, but they did not know why they were sent. From the beginning the tribe was divided into the Sky people and the Earth people. While the Earth people were further divided into Water and Land, and each received equal authority around the council fire, the tribe always retained the dual symbolism of the Sky (where they originated) and the Earth (where they later lived). Their tribal organization changed, after consulting Wah'kon-tah, whenever environmental conditions caused strife among the warriors.

Each of the divisions (sky, water, land) was later separated into seven parts called gens. While Wah'kon-tah commanded these sub-divisions, he allowed each gens to name itself. The names chosen varied from animals common to the people (buffalo, deer, fish, bear) to gentes distinctions and functions (They-Who-Won-the-Black-Bear or They-Who-Make-the-Way-Clear). This early organization of twenty-one gentes was military in practice and instigated many war rituals. The chief, chosen from the Earth people, was unable to maintain order in the tribe.

With time, new gentes were added and others left the tribe. A major alteration occurred when a number of gentes were permitted to inaugurate war without preparatory rituals which because of their length, had left the tribe at the mercy of enemies. About the same time, another chief was appointed to rule with the one chosen earlier. A balance of power was maintained by placing one in charge of initiation rites for new tribal members and the other in charge of the sacred house where war ceremonies were conducted.

Another organizational change evolved with the appointment of two hereditary chiefs. One, the Grand Tzi-Sho, represented the Sky division and became the peacemaker opposed to shedding blood. The other, the Grand

Hunkah, represented the Earth division and retained the traditional responsibilities of war leader. A council of ten men, called the A-ki-da, was formed to advise the chiefs and to appoint a new chief if the hereditary line was broken. The chiefs were granted power to maintain civil obedience in that their homes gave immunity to lawbreakers, tribal enemies, and the innocent. They had authority to stop tribal arguments, and to expel members from the tribe if necessary. The efficiency of the tribal hunts and the unity among the gentes displayed the advantages of this government.

The division of the tribe into Sky people and Earth people was an important factor in marriage because no one could marry within his division. Children were members of their father's gens. The purposes of marriage were to produce brave and strong warriors and to insure progeny a long life. Consequently, marriages were arranged by parents, and a brave warrior usually had more than one wife. This system of mating helped produce tall warriors known by their stout appearance. Sieur de Bourgmont, upon seeing Osages for the first time at Ft. Detroit, thought they were the most alert of all Indians.²

Another unifying force within the Osage tribe was the respect given to the "Little Old Men." When nature became destructive, the older men of the tribe always assembled to discover the cause for the anger of the "Mystery Force." After a time this group became official, and the "Little Old Men" became the interpreters of Wah'kon-tah's commands. Not only did the "Little Old Men" require strict adherence to tribal rituals, but they allowed graceful adjustments of law and custom when advised by the "Mystery

² John J. Mathews, The Osages (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 168.

Force." Thus, with a common belief in Wah'kon-tah, a reliance upon him for daily direction, a common reverence for long life, "Little Old Men" who interpreted the "Mystery Force," and a balance of power between the two hereditary chiefs, the Osage were able to maintain a strong and united nation.

One example of how Wah'kon-tah and the "Little Old Men" changed tribal custom occurred when a flood forced all to flee the Osage village. Following this catastrophe, the "Little Old Men" met and the "Mystery Force" admitted he caused the flood so that the "Little Ones" (another name for Osage) would separate into five villages. Wah'kon-tah instructed new villages to be built at the location where the five groups of the tribe found refuge from the flood. Therefore, those who had remained in the village and sought safety on roofs were named the Heart-Stays-People. Those who were swift and fled to the highest hill became the Top-of-the-Tree-Sitters, while the slower ones, able to escape only to a near-by swamp, were named Down-Below-People. Another group, who found safety in a thicket patch were called the Sitters-in-the-Locusts, while the fifth group became the Upland-Forest-People because they had sought safety in a woods. By this plan each village contained members of every gens and discouraged individual gens from ignoring central authority.

It should be remembered that ethnological material depicting the early traditions and customs of the Osage were not collected until long after the tribe had been overwhelmed by European culture. Since the European influence began in the early Eighteenth century, the above material, which was collected during the Twentieth century, was retained by oral tradition and undoubtedly underwent many changes from the original. Thus, when ethnological studies were conducted, the Osage were unable to separate

fact from fiction. One knows that when the European came, the Osage tribe was already divided into gentes and villages, ruled by two chiefs who were advised by A-ki-da, and committed to the interpretations of Wah'kon-tah by the "Little Old Men." Since the Osage had few recollections of divisions before the coming of the white man, but experienced numerous divisions after he came, the pre-European history of the tribe leaves many questions. Thus while ethnological research helps explain some tribal responses to the white man, the material must not be considered historically as sound as other data recorded soon after the event took place.

Traditionally, the first white men that the Osage encountered were French trappers. The natives were so fascinated by the amount of hair on the back of their hands and especially on their faces that the trappers were named "Heavy Eyebrows." Although it is known that Spanish explorers were in the territory before the French, historians have not been able to ascertain whether the Spaniards visited an Osage village. Certainly a visit from a Spanish expedition would have been remembered.

The first notice by a European of the Osage tribe was in a map drawn in 1673 by Pierre Marquette. He received his information from Indians living along the Mississippi River and thereby caused the wrong name to be ascribed to the tribe. The real name of the tribe is Ni-U-Ko'n-Ska, which means "Children of the Middle Waters."³ It is presumed that Marquette's informants gave him the name Wah-Sha-She, which is the name of a gens, and the American translation of the French became Osage.

The first visit of Osages to a white settlement, if the trading post and mission of Cahokia can be thus considered, came in 1699. Father Bergier, a Jesuit at the station, knew of the Osage, for when he asked

³ Ibid., 107.

permission in 1702 to open missions among the Kansas and Missouri tribes, he did not think the Osage were ready for conversion. He observed them as "self confident men of more than six feet, heightened by the reach of turkey gobbler 'beard' and deer-tail hair," whose lack of humility indicated they were not ready for the Christian faith.⁴

Though the Osage were not good subjects for conversion, their territory along the Missouri River and their warrior strength made them strategic to the French. The Missouri River was considered by the French to be the best passage to the Pacific Ocean and the rich trade of the Spanish. The French, while always hoping to strike it rich, conducted fur trade with the Indians along the inland rivers of North America. This trade became so profitable that all means were used to expand the enterprise. Even Jesuit missionaries were used to pacify tribes who resented French colonialism. With little interest in large European settlement, the French did not tamper with tribal structures so long as the traders received profitable returns from the monopoly. Hence many tribes, including the Osage, remained unchanged during the period of the French Empire.

The Empire needed the Osage to protect the Missouri River from Commanche raiding parties. In exchange for this, the Little Ones were given guns and ammunition. The Osage appreciated weapon superiority over the Commanche, but did not want the French to give guns to the Pawnee to the north, who were enemies of the Osage. Because no tribe was able to subdue the Osage, and since France did not have enough soldiers to protect the trade herself, the Osage were masters of the Missouri River. Of necessity, then, France pampered the Little Ones to keep the route open.

The Osage became sophisticated through this partnership, and were

⁴ Ibid., 136.

known among the Europeans as "arrogant, imperious warriors, pampered liars . . . slavers, and impudent negotiators."⁵ Although every Osage village contained French scalps, the Little Ones were not usually punished for such atrocities. By some method, the tribe knew the importance of every white man and did not hesitate to murder criminals and undesirables who came to their land. At the same time, they did not harm those whose death would have brought immediate French retaliation.

During the Eighteenth Century, the French, as personnel permitted, continued to expand their trading empire on the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and the Missouri. The Company of the Indias was organized. Biloxi was located on the mouth of the Mississippi, while Ft. Orleans was built on the Missouri. During this time some traders and trappers settled among the Osage tribe and married widows and other women least sought by the warriors. Since the Jesuits were also in short supply, they did not extend work to the Osage even though Father Jean Baptiste Mercier claimed they had requested missionaries.

The relationship between the Osage tribe and the French remained static during most of the period (1700 - 1763); neither could do without the other. There were numerous incidents of trade stoppage and scalping, but no incident was serious enough to alter the French practice of pacifying the Osage. Consideration was given to organizing an Indian coalition against the Osage tribe but the plans never materialized.

The French Empire in America ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1763. At that time the Osage territory was transferred to Spain. However, for those French living among the Indians, the change of loyalty was of little consequence, for the Spanish also lacked personnel and permitted

⁵ Ibid., 154.

trade to continue with changes at the upper level only. In fact, the aim of the Spanish seems to have been to keep English influence restricted to the north rather than to expand the fur trade.

The English, on the other hand, had received from the Treaty of Paris the Canadian and Great Lakes interests of the French empire. Through the Hudson Bay Company, they tried to extend their influence to the Missouri valley. They sent goods to the Osage that were superior in quality to those sent by either the French or the Spanish. The English also incited the Osage against the Spanish by allying them with the Fox and Sauk. These maneuvers interrupted trade, but did not result in Spanish withdrawal.

To counter this subversion, the Spanish turned first to the French plan of pampering the Osage. The following incident illustrates how much the Spanish had to endure. Some Osage warriors stole horses from a Spanish fort, and the commander requested the horses be returned. Instead, fourteen of the tribe went to St. Louis where they "feigned the greatest sorrow about their being unable to stop the robbery" and explained they could not return the horses "without exposing themselves to losing their lives."⁶ Some Indian enemies of the Osage were also in St. Louis, and discovering the visiting delegation, surrounded the quarters of Zenon Trudeau, the Spanish commander, and demanded the Osage warriors be given to them. Trudeau, realizing that this would cause Indian war throughout the territory, enticed the attacking Indians from his home with liquor. Thus, after a ten day seige, the Osage were able to escape.

Whereas the French were successful at pampering the Osage, the Spanish became so disgusted with the tribe that in 1792 Baron de Cardondelet, Governor General, ordered all Osage to be shot on sight. By 1795 the Little

⁶ Ibid., 255.

Ones had so disrupted the Missouri trade that Charles IV of Spain declared war. While his European entanglements prevented him from enforcing this declaration, the Spanish were able to enlist Indians, principally the Kickapoo, to harass Osage villages. Also, to establish trade again, Cadet Auguste Chouteau, a French trader, was given permission to build Ft. Carondelet in Vernon County, Missouri, and to monopolize the profitable Osage trade on the condition he keep the Little Ones from interfering with Missouri trade. The Fort was completed in 1795 and proved to be so beneficial to Spain and to Chouteau that Manuel Liza, another trader, became jealous and secured the monopoly from Chouteau in 1802.

A major division of the tribe resulted when Chouteau persuaded two chieftains of gentes to move from the Place-of-Many-Swans, located on the Osage and Missouri Rivers, to the Place-of-the-Oaks, on the forks of the Verdigris, Neosho, and Arkansas Rivers. These two chieftains, Makes-Tracks-Far-Away and Arrow-Going-Home (known as Claremore), led almost half of the Osage tribe to a site already familiar to them because it had served as a hunting camp.

Another tribal split had also taken place, but can not be directly attributed to the Europeans. As early as 1792, the village group known as the Down-Under-People had begun to wander and refused to settle in permanent villages. This group, called the Little Osages, gradually became independent of the Grand Tzi-Sho and Grand Hunkah, the chiefs of the original tribe. Official recognition of this split came in 1802 when Liza was granted the trading post for the "Great and Little Osages."⁷

Thus, before the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 became a part of the United States, and after more than a century of contact with the Europeans,

⁷ Ibid., 297.

the Osage tribe began to show signs of decay. However, they had been able to make adjustments to the horse, European goods, and Europeans living among them. They had also avoided the havoc that "spirits" had caused other tribes. By observing other Indian tribes after European contact, and comparing them to the Osage, it is surprising that Osage government, religion, land, and customs were so well preserved.

The Americans faced a more complex problem with the Osage than either the French or the Spanish. Not only did the Americans have hostile European nations to the north and south, but the westward advance of white settlements had forced Eastern Indians across the Mississippi onto territory claimed by the Osage. In 1806 Zebulon Montgomery Pike was sent to tell the Osage that their new father wanted them to be at peace with their red brothers. Even though he tried to persuade them to cooperate by returning Osage prisoners purchased from the Potawatomie, he could not quiet the Little Ones.

To stop the continuous conflict among Indian tribes, a treaty was signed in 1808 whereby the Osage ceded almost all of the present states of Missouri and Arkansas. Ft. Osage and a government trading post were built on the Missouri River just east of the present border of Kansas. Neither the Grand Hunka nor the Grand Tzi-Sho were among the Osage chiefs who signed the agreement, and so many complaints erupted that the treaty was not ratified until 1818.

During the War of 1812, Ft. Osage was abandoned and the English enticed the Osage by again sending presents. The tribe was pardoned for this flirtation with the English in 1815 when it signed a treaty of peace and friendship with the United States.

By 1820 it was estimated that 4500 Osage were living at the Place-

of-the-Oaks on the forks of the Arkansas, Neosho, and Verdigris Rivers. Another 1600 remained at the Place-of-Many-Swans near Ft. Osage in Missouri. Whereas the Osage had always watched for the enemy to come from the west, their real enemies came from the east and were called Cherokee, Kickapoo, and American.

Kickapoo

The Kickapoo tribe, who were discovered by the French near the Fox River before the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, was of Algonquian origin.⁸ While the Algonquian linguistic stock includes such eastern Indians as Mohegan and Delaware, and to the west the Arapaho and Cheyenne, the Kickapoo were closely related to the Sauk and Fox. The Kickapoo were tall and had "the typical Indian nose, heavy and prominent, somewhat hooked in men, flatter in women; their cheek bones are heavy; the head among the tribes of the great lakes is very large and almost brachycephalic, but showing considerable variation; the face is very large."⁹

At one time the Kickapoo were divided into many gentes, but soon after the Europeans came they included only the Water, Tree, Berry, Thunder, Man, Bear, Elk, Turkey, Bald-eagle, Wolf and Fox. As in the case of the Osage, a person could not marry within his gens. Polygamy was permitted, but was not very prevalent among the tribe. The children were placed in the gens of the father, even though the mother occasionally named them after another gens. The chief, while enjoying great social position among the tribe, was often only a figurehead politically. His successors were nor-

⁸ Kickapoo material is largely from A. M. Gibson, The Kickapoos (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963).

⁹ Frederick W. Hodge (ed.), Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin Number 30 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 40.

mally determined by heredity.

Whereas creation myths were numerous among Algonquians, the Kickapoo centered their belief "about the death of the younger brother of the culture-hero, whose name is Wisa Ka. To him they attribute all the good things of this world and the hope of life in the spirit world, over which the younger brother presides."¹⁰

He it was who created the world by magic power, peopled it with game and the other animals, taught his favorite people the arts of the chase, and gave them corn and beans. But this diety was distinguished more for his magical powers and his ability to overcome opposition by trickery, deception, and falsehood than for benevolent qualities. The objects of nature were deities to them Kickapoo, as the sun, the moon, fire, trees, lakes, and the various animals. Respect was also paid to the four cardinal points. There was a general belief in a soul, shade, or immortal spiritual nature not only in man but in animals and all other things, and in a spiritual abode to which this soul went after the death of the body, and in which the occupations and enjoyments were supposed to be similar to those of this life.¹¹

The Kickapoo, who planted corn and squash around their villages, also participated in the hunt. Of all the eastern and central Algonquians, they were more familiar with the Indians of the Plains because of their extensive buffalo hunts. The Kickapoo villages were fixed. The houses were made of bark during the summer and changed to flag-reed oval lodges in the winter.

The young warriors did not marry until late because they were more interested in hunting and war. They believed that too much courtship made them incapable of enduring long marches or escaping from the enemy. When they did decide on marriage, they were free to court a woman in her own lodge after dark. If both agreed to marry, the parents made the arrangements. The woman had the opportunity, however, to reject male advances.

¹⁰ Ibid., 684.

¹¹ Ibid., 40.

Thus this freedom in courtship is symbolic of the freedom and individuality of the Kickapoo tribe.

A major difference between the Kickapoo and other Algonquian tribes was that while they both submitted at first to the designs of the French, the Kickapoo eventually resisted all efforts of the Europeans to force them to follow trade and colonial policies. When the French were developing their trade empire in the mid-west with the help of Algonquian tribes, the Dutch and English incited northeast Indians to attack French Indians in the Illinois, Mississippi and Ohio River valleys, and in the upper Great Lakes. The Iroquois, to the east and south of French territory, pushed the Algonquians west and north. The French colonial plan was completely disrupted by this maneuver, which cut communication lines to Montreal and Quebec. With the other tribes, the Kickapoo retreated to the forests surrounding Green Bay. No sooner had they arrived than the Sioux, who lived to the west, attacked them. The Kickapoo found themselves tied to a French colonial system and squeezed between hostile Indians.

After three years of hiding, the Kickapoo, in 1683, received guns from the French and were resettled along the Mississippi to guard colonial trade. Encouraging the Indians only to defend themselves, the French feared aggressive measures would prolong the struggle with the Iroquois and Sioux. The same year they resettled, the Kickapoo were ambushed by the Iroquois and sixty Kickapoo warriors were killed. From that time on, the Kickapoo followed an independent policy whereby they not only fought anyone who attempted to thwart this effort, but became as aggressive as they had been acquiescent.

Abandoning central authority, the Kickapoo moved to small villages close enough to each other to help in war, but far enough apart to prevent annihilation. The vengeance of the tribe was felt in all directions. Small

raiding parties searched for scalps and plunder, and raided Santee Dakota, Kansas, Osage, and tribes as far east as Niagara. The French, because these raids quieted the Sioux and the Iroquois, tried to bring the Kickapoo into a new plan of defense, but the Kickapoo acknowledged their independence by the brutal murder of a Recollect friar, Father Gabriel. The taming efforts of the Jesuits were also resisted by the Kickapoo.

The Kickapoo attended the 1701 Indian Congress called by France at Montreal, but they were unwilling to co-operate with any plan for peace among North American tribes. Their independence from the French soon found the Kickapoo allied with the Fox and Mascouten. These allies brought the Kickapoo into direct conflict with the French by attacking Ft. Detroit in 1712. The Mascoutens were almost annihilated as a result. Knowing that he would have to fight the Kickapoo sometime, the French commander, Dubuisson, attacked Kickapoo camped near the Miami River, beheaded some warriors, and sent their heads to Detroit. So revengeful were the Kickapoo after this incident that almost all trade routes were disrupted. In 1716, however, Louvigny temporarily tamed the Kickapoo for the French by capturing their women and children when the warriors were away. This led to more reprisals by the Kickapoo, but this time they were unable to stop French trade.

In 1728, the Kickapoo captured Pierre Boucher and Jesuit Michel Guignas as they returned from closing Ft. Beauharnois. The Fox, who had been responsible for the closing of the Fort, wanted the captives executed. Defying the Fox demand, the Kickapoo broke their long alliance with them, and exchanged the prisoners for their captured women and children. The Kickapoo then further reversed themselves and instead of disrupting trade, they fought with the French against the Fox. So reliable did the Kickapoo become as allies of the French that when the English encouraged the Chick-

asaw to stop Mississippi trade, the Kickapoo unleashed their fury upon that tribe. Thus, while the French maintained their North American colonies, the Kickapoo had been one of their bitterest enemy and also their strongest supporter.

The Kickapoo were taught well, for even after the French left in 1763, the tribe did not transfer its allegiance to the British, the new colonial master. The Kickapoo became active in Pontiac's conspiracy and helped defeat the British at Detroit. When the English sent George Croghan to command the Illinois Territory in 1765, they captured him. At the same time, they continued to terrorize settlers and Indian villages especially those around Cahokia, Kaskaskia, and Chartres, while other Kickapoo effectively hampered the Ohio River trade of the settlers.

By this time the Kickapoo, still holding council together, lived at three separate locations. Those who had been living in southern Wisconsin joined either a group containing three hundred warriors in southern Illinois, or with another three hundred living in Indiana along the Wabash. The third group, numbering only seventy-five warriors lived in Spanish territory west of St. Louis. This band, under Serena, had been induced to settle by Antonia de Ulloa, Spanish Commander, who used them to contain the British and the Osage.

When the Revolutionary War began, the services of the Kickapoo were sought by all. George Rogers Clark brought the Illinois Kickapoo to the American side and used them first as scouts and later to attack British forts. At the same time the Wabash Kickapoo pledged their aid to the English. This group, however, turned against their pledge and were of little help to the British.

Until the American settlers began to swarm around their territory, the Kickapoo remained pro-American. When civil and military authorities

were unable to check the westward expansion, the Kickapoo resorted to terrorizing white settlements, farms, and Indian tribes who refused to ally with them. Under pressure from settlers to quiet the tribe, the Americans conducted three invasions against their villages. Armies led by John R. Hamtramck, Charles Scott, and James Wilkinson finally convinced the Wabash Kickapoo to move west where they joined one of the other two bands. The first negotiations between the United States and Kickapoo came in 1795 at an Indian conference that followed Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers. Even though the Kickapoo received a \$500 annuity from the government, they were not submissive and continued to raid in Illinois.

The Illinois Kickapoo after 1800, to the delight of the English, continued to thwart the advance of the frontier. In 1808, many Kickapoo from both bands returned to Indiana and supported the nationalistic movement of Tecumseh and Elskwatawa. In the mean time, William Harrison took advantage of a split among the Kickapoo, and received territory from the pro-American faction of the Wabash Kickapoo. The collapse of Tecumseh's confederacy in 1811 and the Kickapoo's unsuccessful seige of Ft. Harrison in 1812, sent the tribe retreating to the Fox River where they raided American settlements during the war.

Not until 1815 were the British able to convince the Kickapoo in the north that the Americans desired peace and wanted them to return to their Illinois home. When the Kickapoo journeyed south, they discovered white settlement still threatened their territory, and again they took matters into their own hands. Finally the government in 1819, signed treaties whereby the Wabash and Illinois band exchanged their territory for land in Missouri.

The Kickapoo would have been together again had not two groups refused to leave. One, lead by Chief Mecina, continued to terrorize settlers

until most of the warriors joined in Black Hawk's abortive attempt to regain Fox territory. These warriors eventually joined the St. Louis Kickapoo. Chief Mecina, meanwhile, joined the second group that refused to leave. Desiring to farm and adopt some of the habits of the white man, Kennekuk, their leader, resorted to passive resistance. He finally submitted to government pressure and in 1833 moved to Kansas.

The Osage, who had given the Spanish trouble for ten years, became quiet when Chouteau took over the trading about 1800. Thus, the St. Louis Kickapoo moved their villages to the Osage and Gasconade River Basins of Missouri which increased the pressure on the Osage, and periodically, conflicts arose. Most of the Kickapoo in Missouri were not satisfied with their territory. When the American Fur Company settled with them in 1812, many of the tribe moved south to the Arkansas and Red Rivers where they trapped and continued limited war with the Osage. Those that remained in Missouri were bothered by the advancing white settlers who sold them whisky and killed their game.

Thus by 1832 the Kickapoo was a splintered tribe. They no longer counceled together nor did the objectives of the various bands follow a systematic policy. The Kennekuk faction, who farmed and were more cooperative with the government than any of the others, was still in eastern Illinois and numbered about 350. Along the Osage River in Missouri, Chief Kishko lead a group of 400 who were dissatisfied with their present territory. Under war chiefs Pecan and Black Buffalo, scattered groups of Kickapoo were in the southern part of Indian territory living off the plunder of raids, and trapping for the American Fur Company. A smaller group under Chief Mosqua lived in Texas on the Sabine River.

The Treaty of Castor Hill in 1832 separated the tribe into the Southern and Northern Kickapoo. Chiefs Kishko and Kennekuk agreed to move

their bands to a reservation in Kansas. When they arrived on the reservation, they presented an unusual contrast. Locating villages only a mile apart, the Kishko faction lived by the hunt while the Kennekuk band began to farm. Soon after Kishko arrived, he became disgruntled and left for the south with a small force. His band was placed under the leadership of Chief Pashishi. Splintering, then going south, became a pattern that eventually left only the Kennekuk faction in the north. The southern bands did return each year to receive annuity payments, but other than that, the Kickapoo never assembled together.

Missionary Societies

One of the stated purposes for founding the English Colonies was to spread the Gospel among natives. The Charter of the Plymouth Company said, ". . . We may with boldness go on to the settling of so hopeful a work, which tendeth to the reducing and conversion of such savages as remain wandering in desolation and distress. . . ." ¹² Also, the Massachusetts Bay Charter echoed a similar instruction when it commanded the colonists ". . . To win and incite the natives of that country to knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind and the Christian Faith. . . ." ¹³ So conscientious were the Pilgrims about Christian missions, that the pastor of the home church at Leyden bemoaned the knowledge that the colonists had killed some Indians before any were converted. As most colonists faced the rigors of settlement, however, they were often too occupied to take the missionary imperative seriously. There were notable exceptions, however.

¹² Joseph Tracy, "History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," History of American Missions to the Heathen, From Their Commencement To the Present Time (Worcester: Spooner and Howland, 1840, 11.

¹³ Ibid., 12.

The Legislature of Massachusetts sent John Eliot to preach the Gospel among the Indians in 1646. His work soon produced a colony of "praying Indians" who separated themselves from the Mohicans and organized a church at Nonantum. Thomas Maynew of Martha's Vineyard began preaching to the Indians a few years before Eliot and his work was continued by his children until the nineteenth century. As a direct result of these early successes, "The Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England" was formed in England in 1649. As early as 1675, fourteen settlements of Christian Indians numbered 3600.¹⁴

The United Brethren Church opened its first mission among the Creek in Georgia. The work was soon transferred to Pennsylvania where the town of Gnadenhuetten was established for the Christian Indians. David Zeisberger was the most famous of these Moravian missionaries. Also notable was the work of David Brainerd, a Presbyterian, who labored among the Indians of New Jersey and Pennsylvania in 1743. However, the work of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was the most massive adventure. Sponsored by the Church of England, the society sent missionaries to English settlers, Indians, and Negro slaves, in all the British Colonies. From 1701, the date of its founding, to 1783, 309 missionaries were sent to the American colonies, and while they were dedicated and devoted, only a few are known for their work.

It should be remembered that while there are notable instances of missionary activity among Indians, the majority of colonists neither supported these programs nor were concerned about the salvation of the natives. The colonists' seizure of Indian land and the use of Indians as

¹³ Ibid., 12.

a buffer against the French, did more harm to the mission program than twice as many missionaries could have corrected. Indian insurrections against the settlers encouraged the colonists to look upon the heathen as treacherous enemies.

The Revolutionary War brought to an end most of the work started by European missionary societies. Following the war, however, new American societies assumed missions that had already been started among the Indians. In 1787 the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America, although English backed, was incorporated in Massachusetts, and later became a Unitarian organization. The New York Missionary Society was founded in 1796, the Northern Missionary Society, a year later, and in 1802, the Western Missionary Society was formed in Pittsburgh.

At the turn of the century, a religious revival spread throughout the nation. Numerous Bible schools trained young men to become "gospel preachers." Massive camp meetings were held throughout the settlements of the frontier. As in other revival periods, churches rethought the Christian imperative with the result that they increased ecumenical activity, and reemphasized missionary work.¹⁵

Many seminaries were involved in this reappraisal of the life and mission of the church. Students from Divinity College at Andover crystallized their reappraisal and presented a paper of "statement and inquiries" to the General Association of Massachusetts in 1810. After declaring they were willing to become missionaries, they asked the Association,

Whether, with their present views and feelings, they ought to renounce the object of missions, as either visionary or impracticable;

¹⁵ William G. McLoughlin, Jr., Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1959), 7.

if not, whether they ought to direct their attention to the eastern or western world; whether they may expect patronage and support from a Missionary Society in this country, or must commit themselves to the direction of a European society; and what preparatory measures they ought to take, previous to actual engagement.¹⁶

The response of the Congregational Church to this paper was the formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Its first project of sending missionaries was almost disastrous when some turned Baptists aboard ship. Even though the first missionaries were sent overseas, the American Board sent missionaries to the Indians in 1817. Cyrus Kingsbury was appointed missionary to the Cherokee Indians at that time.

The same year the American Board began its Indian missions, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the General Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church and the General Synod of the Associate Reformed Church formed the United Foreign Missionary Society. This society also absorbed many small independent missionary societies.

The first major enterprise of the United Foreign Missionary Society was to establish missions among the Osage in 1820. In 1825, the Board merged into the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. When the merger was completed in 1827, the Indians served by this enlarged ecumenical society included the Osage, Maumee, Tuscarora, Cattaraugus, Chickasaw, Cherokee and Choctaw. One by one, however, denominations organized their own missionary societies and, by the Civil War, the American Board had reverted to its original Congregational status. All missionary societies conducted extensive programs in foreign countries as well as in America.

In an effort to encourage all Presbyterian Churches to participate

¹⁶ Tracy, "History of the American Board", 31.

in the missionary program, the Western Foreign Missionary Society was created by the Synod of Pittsburgh in 1831. Under this society, missionaries were sent to the Wea in Kansas. As the first missionaries were sent west, the intent of the society stated, "Relying on the aid of the Great Head of the Church, do pledge itself to sustain the Western Foreign Missionary Society in attempting the immediate supply of every unsupplied and accessible tribe of the Western Indian Reservation with the means of grace."¹⁷ In 1837, this society became a part of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. The society extended its Indian missions to the Iowa and Sauk, Omaha, Otoes, and in 1856, the Kickapoo.

The Methodist denomination did not appoint its first missionary to Indians until 1819 when the Ohio Annual Conference established a mission to the Wyandot Indians. John Stewart, a free-born mulatto and part Indian, though not ordained, was supported by the Conference. In 1820, at the General Conference, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized after much debate. The Methodists had always thought of themselves as having "the most extensive and energetic missionary system in existence"¹⁸ because of the circuit and itinerating programs. It was apparent, however, that Conferences were not always able to finance missionary projects within their boundaries, that many members were contributing to interdenominational societies, and that other denominations were ahead

¹⁷ Joseph Tracy, "History of the Board of Foreign Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and of its Missions," History of American Missions to the Heathen, From Their Commencement to the Present Time (Worcester: Spooner and Howland, 1840), 723.

¹⁸ Wade C. Barclay, Early American Methodism 1769-1844, Volume I: Missionary Motivation and Expansion (New York: The Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, 1949), 206.

in the missionary program.

While the National Society appointed a few missionaries at first, the formation of Conference Missionary Societies quickly assumed this responsibility. The national organization urged local Conferences to open work in their immediate areas. Missions to the Creek and Cherokee were provided by the South Carolina and Tennessee Conferences in 1822. The Mississippi Conference sent missionaries to the Choctaw in 1825. In 1830, the Missouri Conference established missions in Kansas.

The response of local churches to missionary societies can be seen by the number of missionary periodicals published. The Christian Advocate and Zions Journal, founded in 1826, had a circulation of 15,000 a year later.¹⁹ Very lengthy missionary reports and letters were featured. The Missionary Herald, published by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, also had wide circulation.

The increase in contributions also indicated the favorable response to the mission program. The Methodists received:

1820 - \$ 823.	1830 - \$ 9950.
1825 - \$4140.	1835 - \$61337. ²⁰

The receipts of the American Board show a similar growth.

1820 - \$39,949.	1830 - \$ 83,019. ²¹
1825 - \$55,716.	1835 - \$163,340.

Thus from the impetus of a religious revival during the first decades of the nineteenth century, American Protestantism became aware of its re-

¹⁹ Ibid., 218.

²⁰ Enoch Mudge, "History of the Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church," History of American Missions to the Heathen, From Their Commencement to the Present Time (Worcester: Spooner and Howland, 1840), 562.

²¹ Tracy, "History of the American Board", 345.

sponsibility to fulfill the great commission to Christianize the world. American churches, by founding their own missionary societies, filled the gap created by the withdrawal of English societies during the Revolutionary War. Many of these, organized by local groups, were merged into large ecumenical structures to systematically conduct both foreign and Indian missions. With time, however, these reverted to denominational organizations.

Catholic missions to the North American Indians were begun by the French. As early as 1615, three Franciscans came to the new world where they were joined later by three Jesuits. War with England disrupted the work and when missions resumed in 1633, only the Jesuits were active. The largest extent of work was during the French period to 1763 and included work among the Abnake in Maine, the Huron in Canada, Michigan, the Iroquois, Ottawa, Choctaw, Creek and Alabama. The missionary

planted his cross among the heathen, and won all that he could to the faith, and whenever he could formed a distinct village of Christians; . . . the French priest left his neophyte free - setting him no task, building no splendid edifices by his toil the French mission was a fort against hostile attack, and inclosed merely the church, mission-house, and mechanics' sheds - the Indians all living without in cabins or houses, and entering the fort only in time of danger.²²

The Jesuits lost all of their government annuities in 1763 and only those missions that could support themselves remained open. Every mission closed when the Jesuits were expelled as a Society in 1773 by Pope Clement XIV. So scarce were Catholic missionaries, that when the Ottawa petitioned in 1823 to have a Jesuit return to them, a diocesan priest, Dejean, was sent instead.

²² John G. Shea, History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1854 (New York: Excelsior Catholic Publishing House, 1896), 128.

The Jesuits were again authorized in 1801. In Maryland the American Society was again activated by members who had been working with the regular clergy. The Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas, Louis William Du Bourg, asked this group in 1815 to reestablish Catholic Indian missions in his diocese. Even though they did not have many members, the Jesuits undertook the responsibility and centered their operations at Florissant, Missouri, beginning in 1823.

CHAPTER II

PRELUDES FOR MISSION ESTABLISHMENT

Triangular Agreements

By 1820, government policy towards the Indians of North America had changed frequently, but the Office of Indian Affairs had the authority to define limits of tribal territories and to restrict unauthorized persons from entering; consequently, missionary societies could not indiscriminately establish missions. Indeed, when a missionary society desired to open an Indian mission, it had to secure permission not only from the Office of Indian Affairs, but from the Indians as well.

Since the missions differed by denomination, tribe, and time of establishment, a study of this triangular relationship is helpful. First, consideration should be given to legal transactions that ensued among the three. Next, it is important to discover who initiated the idea for a mission, and what form each of the parties wanted the mission to take.

Indian Initiative

Whereas most of the missions were begun under the auspices of missionary societies, the Office of Indian Affairs and the Indians are known to have initiated some invitations. In 1844, the Osage, who had been without a resident Protestant missionary for almost a decade, invited the Catholics to establish a mission. Their invitation, a petition sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was signed by White Hair and eight other Osage chiefs. While White Hair did not represent the entire nation, and was often manipulated by Chouteau the trader, the government, which had already negotiated land treaties with White Hair, took the petition

seriously.

This petition of the undersigned chiefs and warriors of the Osage tribe of Indians respectfully represent that in accordance with the benevolent intentions of the Government of the United States we are disposed to better our condition by the introduction among us of education and the domestic arts. That a school being felt by us necessary for the instruction of our children we wish to see one established among us with as little delay as possible and the Catholic Missionary Society of Missouri having expressed a willingness to send missionaries and establish a permanent school among us, we, seeing the great advantage derived by our neighbors, the Potawatomi, from the labours and institution of the missionaries of this Society, would be happy to receive them among us and respectfully request you to aid and encourage them in their benevolent designs towards us and that government would apply annually to the aid of the proposed school as large an amount as you may think advisable of the interest accruing on funds reserved for us by Treaty stipulations for purposes of education.¹

The Office of Indian Affairs honored the wishes of the Osage; it passed over the requests of the Presbyterians, the Episcopalians, and the Baptists, and granted permission to the Catholic Missionary Society of Missouri to establish a mission. Contrasting the Osage with their new neighbors the Cherokee, the government felt the Osage to be in a "state of barbarism" and asked the Catholics to test their "disposition to civilization and improvement."² The Catholic Society, which had established missions that had proved to be economic embarrassments, cautiously negotiated the financial obligations with the government until February, 1847. Thus, almost three years after the Osage request, the Office of Indian Affairs, the Catholic Missionary Society, and the Osage Indians reached an agreement, and the Catholic Osage Mission became a fact.

¹ Indian Office MS Records, Cited by Gilbert J. Garraghan, The Jesuits of the Middle United States (New York: American Press, 1938), II, 495-96.

² Letter from Medill to Secretary of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (February 5, 1846), Cited by William W. Graves, History of Neosho County (St. Paul, Kansas: Journal Press, 1949), I, 81.

One Protestant Osage mission, Harmony, was also initiated by the Indians. Sans Nerf, a chief of the Osage living in Missouri, visited Washington and requested missionaries be sent to the Place-of-the-Many-Swans. Thomas L. McKenney, Secretary of Indian Trade, communicated this request to the United Foreign Missionary Society, which had recently opened another mission among the Osage in Arkansas, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In his communication, McKenney admitted that "these Osages are jealous of their Arkansas brethren."³ Indian trader, Chouteau, who lived among the Arkansas Osage and received favorable treatment from government officials, was not liked by the Missouri Osage who traded with a government factory.

The United Foreign Missionary Society sent Rev. Dr. Milledoler to Washington to meet with Sans Nerf and negotiate another Osage mission. After conversations, the chief accepted an offer from this society and assured Dr. Milledoler that because of his satisfaction, the Missouri Osage would be satisfied. Here again, the necessary prelude to mission establishment was accomplished.

Government Initiative

Because Congress had appropriated money to educate and civilize Indians, and since the government treaties often carried annuity payments for the same purposes, the Office of Indian Affairs supervised financial arrangements, and investigated the educational standards of mission schools. Consequently, the government sought responsible missionary societies to open

³ Letter from T. L. McKenney to Secretary of United Foreign Missionary Society (July 5, 1820), Cited by William W. Graves, The First Protestant Osage Missions 1820-1837 (Oswego, Kansas: The Carpenter Press, 1949), 87.

Indian schools.

George Vashon, an Indian Agent, solicited the Methodist Missionary Society of Missouri to send missionaries to the Shawnee and Kansas tribes. In a letter to Rev. Jesse Greene,⁴ he invited the Conference to open missions because the American Board, which had made application, could not begin for another two or three years. He failed to mention that the Baptists planned to open a mission also. In 1830, the Methodists sent William and Thomas Johnson to the Shawnee and Kansas tribes where they, three years later, expanded the Methodist Society's work to the Peoria, Delaware and Kickapoo Indians.

Permission for the Methodists to open the Kickapoo mission was probably obtained from Kennekuk, the leader of one of the bands in the territory who was amenable to government attempts to civilize and settle the tribe. The government recognized the mission when the missionary, Rev. Jerome Berryman, received the appointment of teacher a year after he began work. Thus, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Missouri Conference, after accepting the invitation of a government agent, quickly expanded its missionary program to include a school and mission among the Kickapoo Indians.

Missionary Initiative

The other three missions among the Kickapoo and Osage were established through the initiative of missionary societies. Just two years after the United Foreign Missionary Society was formed in 1817, Revs.

⁴ Letter from George Vashon, Indian Agency near Kansas, to Rev. Jesse Greene, Cited by J. J. Lutz, "The Methodist Missions Among the Indian Tribes in Kansas," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka: State Printing Office, 1906), IX, 166-67.

Epaphras Chapman and J. P. Vinall toured the Missouri Territory to "ascertain the condition of the Indian tribes in that quarter, and to select suitable places for missionary stations."⁵ After meeting with both the Cherokee and Osage, they rejected a Cherokee invitation to establish a mission because the American Board was already there. However, they accepted an Arkansas Osage invitation in which a chief said in part,

I shall consider the house which our great father will build for the education of our children our home, as we do this place. I wish our great father would send us the teachers as soon as he can, with their necessary equipments. I shook hands with our great father at Washington and still hold it fast. We must all have one tongue.⁶

When the new Protestant missionaries arrived at Osage territory, they carried with them letters from government officials sanctioning mission establishments by the United Foreign Missionary Society. Thus, again, all three parties had reached an agreement.

At the request of the Jesuit Superior of the Missouri Fathers, Father Charles Van Quickenborne was sent to Kansas to explore all opportunities opened by the response of the Kickapoo Indians to "come and reside among us with a view to instruct us."⁷ Van Quickenborne then went to Washington to secure permission from the government. In a letter to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, Van Quickenborne outlined the Catholic plan for a Kickapoo Mission.

I have three Missionaries, including a teacher, to commence the Mission and School immediately in the Kickapoo Nation. I am induced to commence with this tribe by the circumstance of it having expressed

⁵ Sarah Tuttle, Letters on the Chickasaw and Osage Missions (Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, 1833), 33.

⁶ American Missionary Register (July, 1820), 18, Cited by Graves, The First Protestant Osage Missions . . ., 28.

⁷ Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi (Lyons, 1822---), 9:99, Cited by Garraghan, I, 389.

to me, through their principal men and chiefs, including even the prophet Kennekuk, a desire of having a Catholic establishment among them. The reason they alleged was that they had for many years lived in the neighborhood of French settlements; that they had, in some degree, become acquainted with their religion and that now they wished to be instructed in it.⁸

Elbert Herring, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, granted \$500 a year for ten years to the Jesuits for "the support of the school."⁹ Thus the Catholic mission cleared all the necessary barriers before erecting a mission among the Kickapoo in 1836.

The difficulties that the Presbyterian Board of Missions faced during the entire history of its Kickapoo mission, illustrates the necessity for securing permission from all concerned before embarking on a missionary program. Soon after Rev. William N. Honnell opened the mission in 1856, he encountered objections from the Indians and the Indian agent over the location of the mission. Chief Nokawat in 1858 presented the Indian side of the misunderstanding.

I recollect that you [government agent Many Penny] told me that a school would be established among us -- that it would be an advantage to us -- I acknowledge it, but told you I could not give you an answer, as there were but a few of the nation present.

Now our father, I never wrote or mentioned to you before but I recollect an old white haired brother that spoke to us, and I told him we were not settled on our Reserve yet. I recollect telling him we could not say, but that we wished to select our own teachers, as it had been given us.

The next Spring, another friend comes to us, there where there is a low tree standing and he came from Iowa Point, and spoke to us. Then when this friend spoke to us, our father said, this friend has made a bargain for you at Washington, and with you. Then as quick as this

⁸ Letter from Van Quickenborne at Georgetown College to Cass, Secretary of War (September 17, 1835), Indian Office MS Records, Cited by Garraghan, I, 390-91.

⁹ Letter from Elbert Herring, Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Van Quickenborne (September 22, 1835), Missionary Province Archives, S. J., St. Louis, Cited by Garraghan, I, 391.

friend or man spoke to us -- I saw a stone building frut [sic.] up over yonder. . . .¹⁰

The Presbyterian Board of Missions, as well as the government, bore some of the misunderstanding which surrounded the establishment. Rev. Samuel Irvin, who in 1856 had made the initial arrangements for building the mission, wrote in 1857,

On the 25th of April last I went to the Kickapoo reserve to look for a situation for that mission. I went first to the interpreters house but neither he, nor the Agent, nor chiefs were to be found. I was very desirous to consult all of these, but could not wait. I selected a situation which was believed to be at least two miles from any Indian house excepting the interpreters. On my way home I met the Interpreter to whom I described the site and he thought it was the best that could be selected. I accordingly made a contract with the workmen to put the house up on that place.¹¹

Apparently the negotiations were not complete when the mission was built. The agreement with the Kickapoo Indians, a copy of which is in the files of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, was dated May, 1856. The opening paragraph of this document stated,

For the purpose of erecting a Manual Labor Boarding School for our children and a mission for our people, We the undersigned chiefs of the Kickapoo tribe of Indians do agree to give to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions the entire use and control of the following piece of ground. . . .¹²

The northern Kickapoo, who had lost land in 1854, were then on a diminished reserve and were constantly pressured by ruthless land speculators to sell parts of their territory. It was natural, therefore, that at least some of the tribe were on guard. It was unfortunate, though, that

¹⁰ Letter recorded by M. A. Conover (July 15, 1858), Kickapoo Missionary Papers at the Presbyterian Historical Society (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), Box 103, Volume III, Letter 98.

¹¹ Letter from S. M. Irvin, Iowa and Sac Mission, to Lowrie, Sec. of Board (January 5, 1857), Kickapoo Missionary Papers, Letter 13.

¹² Kickapoo Missionary Papers, Box 105, Volume III, Letter 255, n.d.

the Presbyterians did not have a clear understanding with all concerned before building a mission.

Mission Aspirations

Behind these triangular agreements were factors that are not discernable by a casual glance at documents. A few Indian and government motives, because of their effect upon missions, should be mentioned. By 1820, the government was struggling for a solution to the Indian land problem. The Osage were still restless over Eastern Indians living on part of their territory and claiming more. Continuous warfare in this sector discouraged other Eastern Indians from moving west to escape the advance of white settlement. The government knew a peaceful atmosphere had to be established as a first step to a solution of the entire Indian problem. The earlier hope of defining all Indian territory had been ignored by settlers. The factory system of trade had proved unprofitable for both Indian and government. While a complete removal policy of Eastern Indians was emerging, but as yet was not rigidly enforced, the idea of civilizing the Indians was gaining popularity. Therefore, by viewing the larger problems, one understands the government hoped, by the establishment of schools, that the Indians would become peaceful and thus afford an opportunity for a necessary solution without bloodshed. This desire to promote peace encouraged the government to help in the establishment of mission schools.

While the Indians seemed content and even eager to have schools, once the schools were established, their attendance was not large. Many Indians discovered that compliance with the white man's suggestions of civilizing resulted in more advantageous agreements with the government. The Indian also knew that once schools were suggested, the white man would

not be pleased until they were established even if force were necessary. John Mathews claimed that a major use of the Protestant Osage schools was to safeguard Indian children during Cherokee raids. He also contends that the Osage knew that tribal interest in farming would put the tribe in a better position with the government.¹³ Therefore, Indians often consented to schools, and even requested schools, not always from a desire to become educated, but from the desire to please the white man, to pacify him, and to place themselves in a better position for negotiation.

On the other hand, the missionary societies desired to do more than educate the Indians. (Consider the desire most Christians had to evangelize the world.) It should be remembered that after agreeing to establish schools, missionary societies sent instead of teachers, ministers and priests. Also, when it came time to measure the success of missions, societies invariably used the criteria of the number associated with the church rather than the number of Indians who were educated.

Before mentioning the motives that became apparent when the missions of the Osage and Kickapoo are studied, two myths should be mentioned. Many believe that missionary societies established schools for financial gain. However, even with government subsidy for education, missions seldom became self-supporting. In fact, financial problems always plagued missionary operations. One reason for the Catholic delay in opening the Osage Mission was a shortage of funds. Also, the Catholics did not open the Kickapoo Mission until government financial assistance was assured.

Many people also think that because societies competed to open new fields, they had adequate personnel to take charge. However, the reverse

¹³ Joseph Mathews, The Osages (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 18.

is true. The Jesuits, after receiving permission to open the Kickapoo mission, instructed Father Van Quickenborne to recruit a staff while in the East. The Methodists enlisted missionaries from circuit riders of the Missouri Conference. Jerome Berryman was appointed as the Kickapoo missionary although he had neither solicited the appointment, nor been asked at any time whether he desired to become a missionary. In the 1830-1860 period, forty-one Methodist missionaries were appointed and twenty-four of these stayed two years or less.¹⁴

It appeared that the motives of missionary societies, in spite of these handicaps, fall into three different groups in respect to primary motives behind the agreements. One group of missions seemed to have no other motive than to save souls. A second group apparently intended to educate the Indians as well as save their souls. One mission worked only to educate the Indians.

Save Heathen Souls

Both the Osage and Kickapoo Catholic missions had as a primary motive the conversion of heathen souls. In early negotiations with the government, the Catholics had proposed a plan of missions to both civilize and convert the Indians. This plan was presented to John C. Calhoun by Bishop Du Bourg in 1821.

I should then, with due deference, think that for those distant missions at least, the work of civilization should commence with harmonizing them by the kind doctrine of Christianity, instilled into their minds not by the doubtful and tedious process of books, but by familiar conversation, striking representations and by the pious lives of their spiritual leaders. Men, disenthralled from

¹⁴ Data from J. J. Lutz, "The Methodist Missions Among the Indian Tribes in Kansas."

all family cares, abstracted from every earthly enjoyment, inured to fatigue and self-denial, living in the flesh as if strangers to all sensual inclination, are well calculated to strike the man of nature as a supernatural species of beings, entitled to his almost implicit belief. Thus become masters of his understanding, their unremitting charity will easily subdue the ferocity of their hearts and by degrees assimilate their inclinations to those of their fellow-Christians.¹⁵

Calhoun reacted favorably by offering \$200 annually to the support of each missionary the Catholics sent. However, he limited the number of missionaries to four because of the shortage of available funds.

Before the above plan was tried, Father Van Quickenborne proposed that instead, the Catholics should organize a school outside Indian territory. The school would enroll Indian children, preferably eight to twelve years of age, to "habituate them . . . to the customs and industry of civil life and impress more deeply on their hearts the principles of religion."¹⁶ This proposal, which materialized with the founding of St. Regis in 1824, did not prove successful, for only a few Indian children enrolled.

Before the school was closed in 1831, Van Quickenborne made three visits among the Osage to secure students for the school. He was unsuccessful in this, but he did succeed in bringing Indian children into the Catholic church by baptism. On his trips between 1827-30, he baptized sixty-five.¹⁷ Later, when he requested that Jesuits locate among the Indians as well as operate the school, he argued that every year 120 children die among the Osage and that these could, by a Jesuit visiting the tribes

¹⁵ Letter from Du Bourg to Sec. Calhoun (February 15, 1823), Cited by Garraghan, I, 45.

¹⁶ Indian Office Files, Washington D. C., Cited by Garraghan, I, 173.

¹⁷ Osage Baptismal Register MSS, Passionist Monastery, St. Paul, Kansas, Cited by Garraghan, 193, (No record exists for his third visit).

once a year, be regenerated in baptism and thereby "secured for heaven."¹⁸ Van Quickenborne also documented his argument by mentioning two trips taken by Father Charles De La Croix, a parish priest who had visited the Osage and baptized forty-four in 1822.¹⁹

Though the Jesuits agreed to establish a mission among the Osage as "an experiment to test their disposition to civilization and improvement,"²⁰ and were granted \$500 a year for the support of a school among the Kickapoo, the Catholics were primarily interested in matters other than education. The difficulty of recruiting Indian children to attend St. Regis caused the Jesuits to abandon the plan, but the justification for missionaries among the Indians was argued by alluding to the number of baptisms performed by traveling priests. When Father Roothan, the American Jesuit Superior, urged the Jesuits to seize all opportunities with the Indians, he also warned that those who are sent

must necessarily possess great prudence, also very great charity and a sufficiency of learning. It is moreover to be desired that they be of a quiet frame of mind; otherwise, if they be of too lively an imagination, they will soon turn their attention to various grandiose schemes and so become oblivious of their real purpose, which is the conversion of the Indians.²¹

Another mission that was primarily interested in the conversion of the heathen was the Kickapoo Methodist. The mission had the most enthusiastic beginning of all studied. Revs. William and Thomas Johnson, Methodists who were sent to Kansas in 1830, wrote favorable reports about

¹⁸ Letter from Van Quickenborne to Fortis (June 29, 1825), General Archives, S. J., Rome, Cited by Garraghan, I, 183.

¹⁹ Osage Baptismal Register, Cited by Garraghan, I, 178.

²⁰ See page 28.

²¹ Letter from Roothaan to De Theux (January 5, 1835), General Archives, S. J., Rome; Cited by Garraghan, I, 386.

their work. Thomas Johnson wrote on July 10, 1832 that a band of sixty-eight Indians had settled close to the Shawnee Mission and the chief had joined the church.²² Two weeks later he wrote that "a general spirit of inquiry seems to be excited" among the Indians and twenty had joined after "mature deliberation."²³ His letter also indicated that the Shawnee school had forty Indians attending and a Delaware school had been opened with twenty enrolled.

In 1833, Johnson continued to expand Methodist influence and established friendly relations with Kennekuk, the Kickapoo prophet. The zeal of Johnson for promoting conversions led him to say, "We believe, if we can get access to these people so as to preach to them the doctrines of salvation through Jesus Christ, we shall succeed for the gospel is adapted to all conditions of men."²⁴ Berryman, the Kickapoo missionary, displayed the same zeal when he said, "Many of the heathen are dying without religion. . . . What will they say of us at the bar of God, that we withheld the lamp of life from their bewildered feet?"²⁵

Civilize and Save Heathen Souls

Both missions of the United Foreign Missionary Society among the

²² Letter from Thomas Johnson to Corresponding Sec. (July 10, 1832), in Christian Advocate and Zion's Herald, VII, (September 7, 1832), 6.

²³ Letter from Thomas Johnson to Corresponding Sec. (July 28, 1832), in Christian Advocate and Zion's Herald, VII, (August 31, 1832), 2.

²⁴ Letter from Thomas Johnson to Corresponding Sec. (February 13, 1837), in Christian Advocate and Zion's Herald, XI, n.d., 130.

²⁵ Western Christian Advocate XI, (May 10, 1844), 14, Cited in "Letters From the Indian Missions in Kansas," Collections of Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1925), XVI, 240.

Osage comprise a second group of missions that were motivated by two desires, to educate the Indian and to save him. Even the messages to Indians that the missionaries took with them from the government, went beyond the usual explanation that the missionaries were to establish a school. In his message, Thomas L. McKenney referred at two places to missionaries teaching the children "to pray and sing praises to the Great Spirit," and to so live and act, as to "secure his favor and protection."²⁶

Before both missionary families assumed their respective stations, the United Foreign Missionary Society presented to them instructions which detailed the entire spectrum of their missionary responsibility from the construction of the mission buildings to the conduct of their private lives. The instructions clearly indicated that a major responsibility of the mission was the promotion of the civilization and the arts among the Indians. The missionaries were instructed to cooperate with government officials who would have suggestions to offer. At the same time, the instructions indicated that the full responsibility of the mission was to "evangelize the Indians; and to teach them the arts of civilized life."²⁷

There are two reasons why the United Foreign Missionary Society defined its purpose as to civilize and to convert. The first is the ecumenical structure of the Society, which brought together Presbyterian, and two Reformed churches. The instructions said, "The confessions of faith of the three denominations of Christians united in this Society, are to be the standard of your faith, and your teaching is to be in conformity there to."

²⁶ Letter from Thomas L. McKenney to Indian Chiefs, American Missionary Register, I, 50-53, Cited by Graves, The First Protestant Osage Missions . . ., 36.

²⁷ American Missionary Register (July, 1820), 22, Cited by Graves, The First Protestant Osage Missions . . ., 30-32.

Thus, "wave [sic.] as much as possible what would lead to questions, rather than Godly edifying."²⁸ While not stated, the area of least controversy was in teaching the arts of civilization and in avoiding discussions of the dogmas of the churches.

The second reason that the Society defined its purpose as both to civilize and to convert was its theological belief that the will of God was synonymous with a comfortable life in this world and in the world to come. Thus the missionaries were told that the Indians

must acquire through your instructions the knowledge of property, and the desire of that ease and independence which is the effect of industry and economy--unless these motives can be brought powerfully and steadily to operate, you will not be able to overcome that natural indolence common to men in an uncivilized state. This radical change in the views and habits will undoubtedly be the work of time, and of great difficulty. Yet its accomplishment you must regard as vital to your ultimate success; the Gospel cannot live among a people who are not thus reduced to order, except it be, by foreign and expensive means.²⁹

The missionaries of the Osage Protestant missions, then, understood the purpose of the mission as involving a close harmony between civilization and Christianity. Through the division that they made in labor, which ranged from preacher to mechanic, the missionaries were to have "no love of pre-eminence,"³⁰ and were to convey to the Indians the similarity between the two concerns. They were cautioned, however, about the temptation of allowing the "art of civilizing" to dominate the mission program. The last paragraph of the instructions said, "Never think, that the object

²⁸ Ibid., (February, 1821), 324-28, Cited by Graves, The First Protestant Osage Missions . . . , 93-94.

²⁹ Ibid., (July, 1820), 22, Cited by Graves, The First Protestant Osage Missions . . . , 30-32.

³⁰ Ibid., 30-32.

of your mission is accomplished, till you see them brought into the fold of the son of God, and walking in the faith and order of the Gospel."³¹

Educate the Indians

The Presbyterian Kickapoo Mission represented the third group, which was motivated by the desire to educate the Indians only. Even though the agreement said, "school for our children and a mission for our people,"³² the Presbyterians struggled through the missions' existence, 1856-1860, primarily to keep a school open. Very few religious services were held among the Indians.

Initially, however, the plan to locate among the Kickapoo offered excellent opportunities for conversion as well as education. The tribe did not have a mission or a school, although they had been exposed to Christianity and civilization by both the Methodist and the Catholic missions when the Kickapoo lived near Ft. Leavenworth. A Presbyterian mission among the Kickapoo could also be aided by the Iowa and Sauk Presbyterian Mission that was opened in 1837 and located just northeast of the Kickapoo lands.

What appeared to be a favorable field became an administrative headache for the Presbyterian Board--preaching was held very infrequently, the school building was never completely finished, and three superintendents were appointed in four years. The effort of each superintendent was consumed in opening and operating the school. Had this been done successfully, the missionaries might have been more concerned about other matters, but they spent their entire time with the school. The criteria of success for superintendents was the number of students the school had.

³¹ Ibid., 30-32.

³² See page 33.

Thus the Osage Indians invited missionaries to locate among the tribe on two different occasions. The Osage at the Place-of-Many-Swans invited Protestants in 1821, after they learned of missionaries located among the Osage at the Place-of-the-Oaks. The Osage also invited Catholic missionaries to locate in 1844. By this time, all Protestant missions had closed. On the other hand, Union Mission among the Osage, as well as the Catholic and Presbyterian Kickapoo missions were initiated by aggressive missionary societies. While the government refereed the missionary society competition, in the instance of the Methodist Kickapoo, the government directly solicited the missionary society to begin a program.

While the motives for Indians inviting missionaries are obscure and difficult to document, the government, it is clear, wanted to educate the Indians and to keep them at peace. The missionary societies, while wishing to satisfy the government in this regard, also wanted access to the Indians to fulfill Scriptural imperatives of evangelizing the heathen. Thus the Catholic and Methodist missions conducted a program which readily displayed their intent to save the souls of Indians. The Osage Presbyterian missions had a similar intent, but the theology of this society included the necessity of civilizing the Indians as a part of conversion. Hence, their program included both civilization and conversion. The Presbyterian Kickapoo Mission, because of its problems in serving the Indians, could conduct a program that aimed only at civilizing them.

It should be clear that Indian missions from the beginning were a complex mixture of governmental, tribal, and ecclesiastical programs undertaken for different reasons and with different objectives.

CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF OPTIMISM

The history of the Osage and Kickapoo missions may be divided into three periods. No other similarity between the five missions was as universal as the attitude of optimism initially expressed by the missionaries, which constituted the first period. This optimism later changed to a period of doubt, and was followed by a period when the missionaries began to withdraw from the original mission programs.

The period of optimism is indicated by the pleasure that missionary societies felt upon receiving an opportunity to open a new field, and the satisfaction of the Office of Indian Affairs in successfully opening a school for an Indian tribe. The Indian reaction is not as easily determined.

Kickapoo Methodist Mission

In 1833, when the Methodist Indian District was expanding in every direction, Rev. Jerome Berryman was appointed missionary to the Kickapoo Indians. He was a very capable person, self-educated, practical and efficient. Entering the ministry in Kentucky with but seven and one-half months of formal education, Berryman, at first, served circuits in Missouri and Arkansas, but after a couple of years quit the ministry when an argument arose between his circuit and the Conference. Returning to Kentucky to farm, Berryman attended the Annual Conference to "take a final leave" of his former associates.¹ While there, he confessed his decision to quit

¹ Jerome Berryman, "A Circuit Rider's Experiences," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka: State Printing Plant, 1925), XVI, 210.

was rash, and after being reprimanded for leaving, he was again assigned to a circuit. At the following conference, the bishop appointed him as missionary to the Kickapoo. This appointment could be considered a demotion.

In the fall of 1833, Berryman left his family at Shawnee Mission and went north past Fort Leavenworth to select a site for the mission. He spent the first night in an Indian village, sharing a wigwam with a large family of Indians. The Indians slept peacefully, but Berryman was unable to rest with his "new and very strange companions."² Before the end of the year, he had completed two temporary cabins where he and his family remained for two winters, and where a school and mission was organized.

Berryman was busy the next year. He opened a school for ninety Indians who did not "understand a word of English, nor had they ever seen a book, unless by mere accident."³ He improvised some ingenious methods for teaching the Indians. To teach them the alphabet, he divided the class into small groups and taught each by moving a board with the letters of the alphabet painted on it through a box. Finding this method successful, Berryman taught them to spell one-syllable words in the same way. In 1834, the first report of the mission recorded that a church had been organized among the tribe, and that there were two whites and 230 Indians enrolled in the mission and school.

Sometime in 1835, the government school house was completed about a quarter of a mile from the temporary cabins, and the Berrymans moved to more adequate facilities. They were very pleased with the beauty of the

² Ibid., 208-209.

³ Ibid., 215.

landscape which abounded in flowers, fruits, nuts, and across which a stream flowed which furnished good fish. The mission, three miles from the Fort, overlooked the Missouri River. After one year, Berryman received the pay of a government school teacher, which was \$480 a year; he was permitted to use this money to support the school and for any "other purposes of the mission."⁴ With the additional pay of \$200 as missionary, Berryman's salary permitted him to hire a woman to help Mrs. Berryman with the household chores and the mid-day meal at the school.

Since the mission was only three miles from Ft. Leavenworth, Berryman occasionally preached to the officers and men. This was a link with the civilized world not possible at other missions. In his memoirs, Berryman paid tribute to the men at the fort and also to the Indian agents "for the liberal aid they rendered in carrying out our educational plans and operations."⁵ While he also credited the soldiers with influencing Indians towards Christianity and civilization, the military's influence on the frontier was not always beneficial for mission programs.

Even Berryman was amazed at the growth of the mission. In 1835 he said, "Our prospect of success, I have no hesitation in saying, is good."⁶ The enthusiasm of Berryman and the response of the Indians to the program stemmed from his association with Kennekuk, the Kickapoo prophet, who was active in the Methodist missionary program. In 1834, Thomas Johnson, Meth-

⁴ J. J. Lutz, "The Methodist Missions Among the Indian Tribes in Kansas," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka: State Printing Office, 1906), IX, 210.

⁵ Berryman, 224.

⁶ Letter from Berryman to Corresponding Secretary (January 25, 1835), in Christian Advocate and Zion's Herald, IX, (March 13, 1835), 114.

odist missionary to the Shawnee, told of Kennekuk's ability to speak six languages. As late as 1838, Kennekuk attended a meeting of the Indian Mission District and was listed as "exhorter,"⁷ and, for a time, he received \$200 a year as a local Methodist preacher. In a letter written in 1835, Berryman wrote about Kennekuk and his followers.

They, as you have heard before, have a notable religious leader of their own, who is also their chief. He is a Christian. He received his first religious impressions about twelve years ago, but by what means we have not been able precisely to ascertain. He says that he received them from God, without any human agency, which I am not disposed to doubt. Since that time he has been trying to get all his people to serve the true God, and has succeeded in getting about 400 followers. . . . These people have for some years past been occasionally visited by ministers of our Church, and their leader has associated a great deal with our people previous to this mission being located among them; and by these means they have acquired considerable knowledge of the doctrines and practices of the Christian religion. . . . Their forms of worship are both original and novel. They have in fact many religious peculiarities foreign to Christianity. Nevertheless some of them are truly pious. They are now united with us; and we frequently have very interesting meetings among them. At several of these meetings lately Ke-en-e-kuk, their leader, took the Bible in his hand, after we had preached, and told them that was God's book -- that we ought to try to understand it, and they must look to us for instruction.⁸

The Methodist Kickapoo Mission, with a school of forty, with conversions recorded in the hundreds, and with the head chief being an Exhorter, experienced a rather long period of optimism. The mission worked solely among the Kennekuk faction of Kickapoo.

Kickapoo Catholic Mission

Father Charles Van Quickenborne, who for many years had requested that Indian missions be founded, was appointed the Superior of the Kicka-

⁷ Minutes of Quarterly Conference of the Indian Mission District, MS Book at Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

⁸ Letter from Berryman to Corresponding Secretary (January 25, 1835).

poo Mission. He was a man of proven experience, having been the Jesuit Superior of St. Regis, the Indian school at Florissant. Van Quickenborne, with little help, engineered and built the mission. It was he who received from the chiefs the invitation to open a school, who secured permission from the government to start the mission, who found members for the staff, and who raised necessary funds. Father Van Quickenborne accomplished all of this between July 4, 1835, the day of his inspection tour, and May 25, 1836, the day the missionary staff arrived at the Kickapoo Mission site, located equi-distant between the Pashishi and Kennekuk villages. Further, while in Montreal raising money, he also copied an entire Algonquin grammar, knowing that the Kickapoo belonged to that linguistic stock.⁹

The government probably gave the Catholics permission to open a school, though a Methodist school was already in operation, so that the Catholic school would serve the Pashishi faction which the Methodists had been unable to reach. The Pashishi faction would not attend the Methodist mission because of differences stemming from their long separation from Kennekuk's faction before coming to Kansas. It also appears that Kennekuk was not greatly pleased with the Catholic religion. Some indication of this displeasure comes from two encounters that Van Quickenborne had with Kennekuk. On the inspection visit, Kennekuk, probably with tongue in cheek, admitted to Van Quickenborne that "my religion is not a good one: if my people wish to embrace yours, I will do as they."¹⁰ On the second occasion,

⁹ Letter from Van Quickenborne to Rothaan (April 21, 1836), General Archives, S. J., Rome, Cited by Gilbert J. Garraghan, The Jesuits of the Middle United States (New York: American Press, 1938), I, 392.

¹⁰ Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foex (Lyons, 1822--), 9:99, Cited by Garraghan, I, 389.

when the Jesuits arrived to establish the mission, Van Quickenborne wrote that he made the prophet admit "that he had not received authority from the Great Spirit to preach and that his religion was not a divine religion."¹¹

Van Quickenborne's staff included Father Christian Hoecken, Brothers Mazella, Edmund Barry, and George Miles. They lived for the first few weeks in the cabin of the Indian trader, Laurant Pinsonear. A delay in opening the mission ensued when the Kickapoo agent refused to allow the Jesuits to build until written authorization was received. While hindered in building a mission, the Jesuits used the time to visit surrounding tribes including the Potawatomi Indians living on the Platte Purchase in Missouri, the Peoria, the Kaskaskia, the Wea, and the Piankeshaw.

So pleased was Van Quickenborne with his work, and so sure was he that the mission should be expanded, that just a month after arriving, he wrote the Superior of Georgetown, who had supplied one staff member, and asked him for more help. ". . . A teacher for the school boys will be very necessary."¹² About the same time, when a Sioux attack seemed eminent, the missionaries were prepared to visit all the wigwams and baptize the children to assure them the blessings of heaven. The danger to their own lives was not the primary consideration.

In June, 1837, a little over a year after the missionaries arrived, Father Verhaegen, from St. Louis, made a visit to the mission and related his observations of the work and progress.

¹¹ Letter from Van Quickenborne at Kickapoo Mission to McSherry (June 29, 1836), Maryland-New York Province Archives, S. J., New York, Cited by Garraghan, I, 396.

¹² Ibid., 396.

When I was at the Kickapoo village, I assisted at one of Father Hoecken's instructions. The sound of his horn drew about forty to the chapel at 11 A. M. . . . The Father in surplice knelt before the altar and intoned the Kyrie Eleison of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, the choir, consisting of Father Van Quickenborne, the three Brothers and two workmen, joined him, and the whole Litany was sung with a tone of variations too refined for my ear. . . . Such performances suit the Indians; happily they love and admire a mixed and confused kind of music. . . . Father Hoecken has composed a grammar and is now preparing a dictionary which will be of great advantage to such as will henceforth join him in the glorious work which Ours have commenced. . . . Brother Mazella, . . . by his endeavors, by his good example and by his attention to the sick, . . . has been instrumental in procuring baptism to more than 50 children.¹³

In 1837 Father Verhaegen reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that twenty pupils, including Uapakai, son of the chief, were registered. Hence, the first Catholic mission among the Kickapoo Indians had a school in operation and the Jesuit Fathers were making progress in learning the language of the tribe.

Kickapoo Presbyterian Mission

Between the 1830's and the 1850's, the northern Kickapoo made many adjustments. When the Presbyterian mission opened, the Kennekuk faction of the tribe was almost alone on the reservation. Around 1837, Pashishi had taken a band of 200 south, and they never returned. This migration from the reservation to the south continued throughout the period. Kennekuk had also evangelized about 100 Potawatomie, and they had moved to Kickapoo land. In 1851 a treaty officially recognized them as members of the Kickapoo tribe. The Prophet died in 1853 and his son John, called Pahahkah, succeeded him. While he did not gain the same respect as his father, he was recognized as the rightful heir to his father's authority. The most

¹³ Letter from Verhaegen at St. Louis to McSherry (July 10, 1836), Maryland-New York Province Archives, S. J., New York, Cited by Garraghan, I, 404-405.

drastic change came in 1854 when the Kickapoo ceded most of the land for a \$300,000 annuity, and retained only 150,000 acres on the Grasshopper River for a diminished reserve. The chiefs that signed this treaty included Iapiama, Nekawat, Peshagan, Pakahkah, and Kewishahtuh. Since one third of the annuity was to be used for education, the tribe agreed to receive another mission school.

Though the Kickapoo Presbyterian mission was open continuously for four years, it experienced three distinct periods of optimism in that time. The mission first began in 1856 under the superintendency of Rev. William N. Honnell. It was then renewed with the arrival of A. S. Thorne, who served as the second superintendent. The replacement of Thorne by Rev. R. B. McCullough signalled yet another transition. Since the primary purpose of the mission seems to have been the maintenance of the school, each superintendent endeavored to open the school and increase its enrollment. Thus the period of optimism, always found at the beginning of a new mission, followed the arrival of each superintendent.

Rev. William N. Honnell, the first superintendent, arrived in the middle of the summer, 1856, at the two story concrete mission being constructed on Kickapoo lands. He had with him Mr. and Mrs. E. M. Hubbard, the school teachers; Henry W. Honnell, his brother, the farmer; Miss Maggie J. Shields, Mrs. Hubbard's sister; and the two Hubbard children. Expecting to find the territory in confusion, Rev. Honnell wrote, "I am much pleased with the country and we have not been disturbed by the war parties."¹⁴ So anxious was Honnell to begin the mission and to acquire

¹⁴ Letter from W. N. Honnell at Kickapoo Mission to Lowrie, Secretary of the Board (September 24, 1856), Kickapoo Missionary Papers at Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Box 103, Volume III, Letter 10.

the Indian language, he postponed his marriage for a year.

Even though the building was not completed and even though the Hubbards were sick almost from the time of arrival, Honnell was not disappointed. The school, because of Honnell's persistence, was opened in December of 1856, and twenty-one enrolled. The following spring, when the Presbyterian Board learned that Honnell was absent from the mission for long periods of time, he was relieved of his responsibilities. After this episode, Honnell claimed that his hopes in coming to the territory included more than just opening the mission.¹⁵ One of his other hopes was to secure land and begin a white settlement close to the Kickapoo reservation.

Although Mr. Hubbard served as acting superintendent, he was not able to put the school in operation. The Rev. A. S. Thorne, who had written the Presbyterian Board in August of 1857 that he wanted to become a missionary, was appointed to be the second superintendent. He arrived at the mission in November, and, while finding the mission almost suspended, he had the school open within a month. The sixteen scholars who enrolled included sons of two Kickapoo chiefs.

Thorne's optimism was heightened not only by the opening of the school, but also by the discovery that some of the Kickapoo Indians retained Christian practices from earlier associations. Thorne, when attending the funeral of an old chief, offered prayer and made appropriate remarks. When he finished, "an aged Chief arose and made a few remarks, sung an hymn and led in prayer in Kickapoo."¹⁶ Thorne discovered that about twenty of the

¹⁵ See page 72.

¹⁶ A. S. Thorne at Kickapoo Mission to Lowrie (January 1, 1858), Kickapoo Missionary Papers, Letter 74.

Indians present still held Methodist beliefs.

After the school again declined, Thorne was replaced by Rev. R. B. McCullough in the fall of 1859. McCullough reopened the school and enrolled twenty-eight Indians. He was encouraged by Peshagan, a Kickapoo Chief, who promised to help the mission by getting children from the southern portion of the reserve to attend, but this promise was not kept.

Thus the Presbyterian Kickapoo Mission experienced three short periods of optimism. Each superintendent brought new hope and enthusiasm. Each was able to open the school.

Osage Protestant Missions

Union

When the staff of Union Mission assembled at New York in April, 1820, to receive final instructions from the United Foreign Missionary Society, one of the largest and most ambitious missionary programs of the time began. Rev. William F. Vaill was appointed superintendent with Rev. Epaphras Chapman as his assistant. They were to be the missionaries and the spiritual teachers of the staff. John Spalding and William C. Requa were appointed teachers for the school. Dr. Marcus Palmer was commissioned as physician. The laborers consisted of Stephen Fuller, farmer; Abraham Redfield, carpenter; and George Requa, farmer and mechanic. The wives of Vaill and Chapman and six unmarried women (Susan Lines, Eliza Cleaver, Clarissa Johnson, Mary Foster, Dolly Hoyt, and Phoebe Beach)¹⁷ were to instruct the Indian girls in sewing and knitting. With the four small children of Rev. and Mrs. Vaill, twenty-one persons were sent to establish Union

¹⁷ William W. Graves, The First Protestant Osage Mission 1820-1837 (Oswego, Kansas: The Carpenter Press, 1949), 29.

Mission among the Osages.

Leaving New York in April of 1820, the main party was delayed by shallow river channels, and did not arrive at the site of the mission, about thirty miles north of the junction of the Grand and Arkansas Rivers, until February, 1821. Chapman, Redfield, William Requa, and some of the hired hands, however, left the main party in October and arrived at Union in November. When the main party arrived, the pioneer group had almost completed a dwelling large enough for all.

The first week of March, the missionaries went to an Osage Village and presented papers brought with them from government officials and the missionary Board. Though the Indians did not understand the papers fully, the missionaries felt the Indians gave them their approval.

The principal chief, whose name is Clamore . . . expressed in behalf of his people the warmest satisfaction; and spoke with the utmost animation in recommending the thing to their attention. He gave us to understand, in case they do not go to war, he should send some of his own children, as soon as we could get ready to receive them.¹⁸

The missionaries described the Indian village in some detail, noting particularly the clothing and the lodges. They found the Indians were very hospitable, strangers were welcomed into the lodges.

A state of friction existed between the Osage and the Cherokee while the missionaries prepared more mission facilities. The blacksmith shop was soon opened and the Indians made immediate use of it in their war preparations. Since the staff was unable to secure an interpreter, Chapman and Requa were appointed to study the language. They tried unsuccessfully to overtake the Osage on their western hunting trip to accomplish this assignment. In August, the school was still not open, and Chapman, not having mastered the language, was still trying to find an adequate interpreter.

¹⁸ Union Mission Journal (Wednesday, March 7, 1821), Cited by Graves, 45.

The mission staff had, during this time, adopted articles and covenants that established a church organization.

Though the mission family faced incredible difficulties, the long period of Osage warfare, deaths among the staff, and the lack of an interpreter -- everyone remained optimistic about the future.

Harmony

Harmony Mission among the Osage, which was requested by Chief Sans Nerf and hastily supplied by the United Foreign Missionary Society, was as large and financially stable as Union. Assembling in New York in March, 1821, the mission staff consisted of Rev. Nathaniel B. Dodge, superintendent; Rev. Benton Pixley, assistant superintendent; Rev. William B. Montgomery, teacher and preacher; Dr. William N. Belcher, physician; and Daniel Austin, Samuel Newton, Samuel Bright, Otis Sprague, Amasa Jones, John Seeley; all mechanics, farmers and carpenters. Misses Susan Comstock, Mary Etris, and Eliza Howell, Harriett Woolley, and the wives of all the men were to teach the Indian women to spin, sew, weave, and knit. At least nine children were included in this mission family.

The missionaries faced the usual difficulties in traveling, but they had better success than the Union staff, for they arrived August 2, 1821, in Bates County, Missouri, the site of the mission. Even though Mrs. Newton had died in child birth on the trip, the spirit of the group was high. Mr. Sprague wrote this description of the mission territory.

Were I to speak in suitable terms of our site, you would accuse me of exaggeration. Our buildings will be erected on the river's bank, but sufficiently remote to give us a spacious and handsome green in front. In the rear, we had a vast prairie, covered with grass from three to four feet in height, and yielding, in its uncultivated state, from one and a half to two tons per acre. On either side of us, we have good timber in great quantity. We also have near at hand, an excellent spring of water, stone, coal, lime stone, and clay of the finest

quality for making bricks. Our mill-seat is about a mile below us, and directly opposite to the United States trading house, which was commenced in July, and which will be completed by the first of next month. We are within fifteen miles of the Great Osage Village.¹⁹

The missionaries suffered further from sickness and death, but they were encouraged by the promise of the Indians that when mission facilities were completed, children would be sent to the school. So heartened was Montgomery that, in spite of the death of his wife, he wrote,

The country as little deserves the name of wilderness as any in the Union, and nothing but industry can be requisite to derive from such soil an abundant supply of all the necessities of life. All that seemed to be wanting towards our actual entrance upon our delightful employment of preaching Christ to a most interesting section of the heathen world, and of training up their children in the knowledge and ways of the Lord, was a little time for the erection of buildings, and the acquisition of the language.²⁰

The school at Harmony opened in January of 1822 with twelve students, of whom five were full-blooded. The missionaries soon discovered that the Osage were different from what had been represented. Pixley said in a letter, "We were told of their dignity; of their stationary settlements . . . how desirous they were of learning to read. . . ."²¹ Even though the missionaries found the Indians not as noble as reported, they were not disappointed with their work among them. Pixley continued,

there is something so charming, so approving to conscience, and so agreeable to the word of God in this work, that I doubt whether I should feel comfortable, or at home, at any such place as I left in civilized society, were I permitted to return: and, without doubt, my sentiments and feelings in this respect are reciprocated by most, if not all the family.²²

¹⁹ Letter from Sprague to his brother in Brooklyn (August 20, 1821), American Missionary Register (January, 1822), 275, Cited by Graves, 111.

²⁰ Letter from Rev. Montgomery at Harmony to Rev. Herron (December 3, 1821), American Missionary Register (March, 1822), 351-52, Cited by Graves, 115.

²¹ Letter from Rev. Pixley at Harmony to Domestic Secretary (January 17, 1822), American Missionary Register (January, 1822), 434-35, Cited by Graves, 121.

²² Letter from Rev. Pixley to Rev. E. P. Swift (January 17, 1822), Cited by Graves, 122.

By March 1822, the school had grown to eighteen. Here Indian children were taught the arts of civilized life, but Mrs. Sprague said, "We hope that we may not forget how much more important it is to point them to Christ, 'the way, the truth, the life'."²³ In the same month, the interpreter for the mission consented to interpret sermons, and Rev. Dodge preached to the Indians for the first time with the children of the school present. By this time also, two Indians had been married in the Christian fashion. Though previously married in the Osage manner, they agreed to "consider their connexion as binding for life."²⁴ Thus with school attendance growing, the building completed, and Indians attending church, the missionaries felt they "had acquired the confidence of the tribe."²⁵

In August of 1823, Harmony received a severe blow. The factory, located close to Ft. Osage, was closed and so Osage trade was opened to private traders. When the factory closed, White Hair and his village of 400 moved to the Neosho to live near a new Chouteau trading post. The missionaries, however, refused to look upon the move as disastrous.

The ultimate result of the removal of the tribe is yet to be unfolded. It is the province of God to overrule apparently adverse circumstances, to the promotion of his own glory, and the advancement of his designs of mercy to a benighted and perishing world. Our missionaries, however, are not discouraged. They indulge the hope that the event will be controlled by Providence "to the advantage of the Mission."²⁶

The missionaries established a sub-station near the White Hair village.

²³ Letter from Mrs. Sprague to Friend (March 18, 1822), American Missionary Register (June, 1822), 491, Cited by Graves, 123.

²⁴ Harmony Journal kept by Dodge and printed in American Missionary Register, entry of March 15, 1822, Cited by Graves, 126.

²⁵ American Missionary Register (June, 1823), 163-64, Cited by Graves, 129.

²⁶ Ibid., 130.

The missionaries also made visits to Indian tribes living to the north of Harmony. In January of 1824, Rev. Dodge and Mr. Bright visited the Delaware and Kickapoo Indians to ascertain the condition of these tribes and to ask permission to educate their children. At a Delaware village the interpreter described in the most simple terms, the purpose of the missionaries.

These men are missionaries, sent out by a benevolent society in the east, and by the General Government, to spend their days among the red men, never expecting any compensation for their labours beyond their necessary food and raiment. Their object is to teach the red people how to live in order to be happy. For this purpose they have established a school in the Osage country, and have come to invite the Delawares to send children to their school, or to consent to have a school among themselves. In their school they proposed to teach not reading and writing, but also the necessary arts of business, and in all their teachings their principal object is to instruct them in the great truths of the Bible, and lead them to embrace the religion it reveals. They have family worship morning and evening, call on God for a blessing on the food, and return thanks when they have received it; and public worship is attended regularly on the Sabbath.²⁷

It was reported in 1824 that only six students were enrolled from the northern tribes, these having been brought back on the third trip.

Meanwhile the school at Harmony continued to grow and reported fifty-five students in 1824. George Sibley, the former factor for the Osage, said, "the improvement of the Indian children in our school exceeded anything which he was prepared to witness."²⁸ Thus, the period of optimism that Harmony experienced was longer than that of Union though both missions served the same tribe and were opened at approximately the same time.

²⁷ Harmony Journal, entry of January 10, 1824, Cited by Graves, 136.

²⁸ Ibid., entry of September 30, 1824, Cited by Graves, 142.

Osage Catholic Mission

When the Catholic mission opened in 1847, near the present St. Paul, Kansas, the Osage tribe had ceded much of its original territory. In 1825, all of their claims to land in the State of Missouri and the Territory of Arkansas were lost. The most severe blow came in 1839 when all Osage territory claimed by other Indian tribes was ceded. Thus the Osage were restricted to parts of northern Oklahoma and southern Kansas.

Even though they disliked the settlements surrounding their territory, the Osage permitted the Santa Fe Trail to cross their territory. The civilized Indians and white settlements and Santa Fe traffic did not cause Osage customs to change. Because the treaties precipitated factional conflicts, the Osage were unable to unite and remained a divided tribe with many chiefs controlling many villages.

Construction of the Osage Catholic Mission began a year before the missionaries settled. When Jesuit Fathers John Schoenmakers and John Bax, and Brothers John de Bruyn, John Sheehan and Thomas Coghlan arrived at the mission on April 28, 1847, the Indians had been expecting their arrival. The missionaries capitalized on the Indian welcome and opened a boys' school on May 10.

While Schoenmakers attended to the administration of the school, Bax attended to visiting Indian villages, baptizing children and adults, and caring for the pastoral and medical needs of the Indians. During the first year, Father Bax baptized most of the 210 recorded in the Osage Baptism Register.²⁹ His technique for gaining acceptance was described in

²⁹ William W. Graves, Life and Letters of Fathers Ponziglione, Schoenmakers and Other Early Jesuits at Osage Mission (St. Paul, Kansas, 1916), 221-22.

a letter written in 1850. "At my first visits the children would not approach me, I dissipated their fears by giving them cakes and marbles, with which my pockets were always filled. They became familiar, and in a short time they were extremely attached to me."³⁰ Bax felt that if the children were won, the parents would not refuse them mission opportunities.

The zeal of Father Bax for baptizing the Indians was first displayed shortly after his arrival at the mission. When learning of a dying Indian about four miles away, Bax crossed the flooded river, at some danger to himself, and baptized the native. Father Bax wrote of a similar experience later.

A few days ago I baptised the oldest man in the nation. Impossible to tell you the impressions I experienced when pouring the holy water over that head, whitened with length of years. Baptism is one of the sacraments of our holy religion that the Indians understand³¹ the best, and it is the one that they are most desirous of receiving.

When measles and scurvy epidemics of 1851 spread through the tribe, it is said that "of nearly 1500 savages, who were swept away by the epidemic, all, with a few exceptions, had the happiness of being fortified by the last sacraments of the Church before dying."³²

The Catholic mission was "beautifully situated in a healthy part of the country, on a slight eminence in the prairie, near to and on the east side of the big Neosho, and immediately west of the Rock creek."³³ It

³⁰ Letter from Bax to De Smet (June 1, 1850), Cited by Graves, Life and Letters . . . , 231-32.

³¹ Letter from Bax to De Smet (June 10, 1850), Cited by Graves, Life and Letters . . . , 237.

³² Graves, Life and Letters . . . , 248.

³³ Letter from John Richardson to Medill (April 14, 1848), Cited by William W. Graves, Life and Letters of Rev. John Schoenmakers, S. J. Apostle to the Osages (St. Paul, Kansas: Commercial Publishers, Parsons, 1928), 24.

was, however, poorly located for a mission because of its distance from the Indian villages and the poor quality of the land for farming. Father Bax reported that they were close to only one village with but twenty-five wigwams and that the other Indian villages were from four to sixty miles away.

The Jesuits from the beginning conducted a three-pronged program among the Osage. The first task was opening a school for the children. Next, the Jesuits taught adult Indians methods of farming. Last, they organized as many sub-stations as possible in the area adjacent to the mission. When there were three Priests at the mission, one was in charge of the temporal affairs, another headed the church and the school and visited the half-breeds, while the third worked with the full-blooded Indians.³⁴ When only two were present, the full-blooded received no special attention. This group of Indians was the hardest to reach by the missionaries.

Schoenmakers, in his annual reports to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, was at first optimistic. In the report of 1848, he said,

The efforts soon showed that they were not only ripe to change their mode of living, but also that they were deserving to have communicated to them the blessings of education and civilization. The Osages are convinced of the necessity of abandoning their hunting grounds, and to rely on their children for future support. With the exception of a very few, all seem eager to see their children raised like white people, in order that they may learn to speak their language and imitate their industry.³⁵

This optimism was also shared by John M. Richardson, the Indian Agent, who called attention to "the unparalleled educational progress" made by Osage youth. Recalling that the mission began as an experiment, he assured

³⁴ Mary Paul Fitzgerald, Beacon on the Plains (Leavenworth, Kansas: The St. Mary College, 1939), 128.

³⁵ Report of Schoenmakers to Richardson (August, 1848), Cited by Graves, Life and Letters of Rev. John Schoenmakers . . . , 28.

the commissioner that "The school has certainly proved itself equal to the task of instilling into the minds of the Osage children the rudiments of a good English education."³⁶

Just six months after opening the boys' school, it became necessary to open a girls' school. Father Schoenmakers had difficulty finding an order of nuns to undertake this task because most of them, upon hearing of the assignment among wild Indians, "shivered with fear, and begged to be excused."³⁷ However, Schoenmakers obtained the services of the Sisters of Loretto, from Kentucky, and on the day the nuns arrived, the school was opened. Besides the usual lessons of geography, arithmetic, reading, and writing, the girls were taught "sewing, knitting, drapery, and drawing; in a word, all that is necessary to make them useful mothers of families, able to instill industry and morality into the hearts of a future generation."³⁸ The sub-agent for the Osages, John Richardson, had special praise for the female department of the school in his report of 1849.

The Jesuits considered it a very good sign that they required more school facilities in 1850 to accommodate all the children. It was assumed by the Catholics that Indian children had great influence over their parents. They reasoned that if the child could be properly taught at the mission, the child would change the parents to a new way of life. The Jesuits also reasoned that "civilization without Christianity, is unattain-

³⁶ Graves, Life and Letters of Rev. John Schoenmakers . . . , 23-24.

³⁷ Paul Mary Ponziglione, The Osages and Father John Schoenmakers, S. J., Interesting Memoirs Collected from Legends, Traditions and Historical Documents, a MS Book at the Missouri Province Archives, S. J., St. Louis, 120-21.

³⁸ Graves, Life and Letters of Rev. John Schoenmakers . . . , 29.

able," for "The History of the world proves that Christianity is the grand civilizer of the human affections."³⁹ That the Jesuits felt themselves successful in their endeavors with the children is evidenced by a Schoenmakers report of 1850.

Never could we have succeeded to subdue their passions and stubborn dispositions without giving them first the knowledge of a common Master and Father, who witnesses all our deeds, rewards virtue, and punishes vice; who claims the service of all, and demands a strict observance of his holy commandments . . . they are easily put forward on the way to trust in the grace of God, and to fight against the passions of the human heart. We have been successful in making them understand that these passions are the fountains and sources of great evils; that therefore they must be curbed in a youthful heart.⁴⁰

Thus after missionary societies had secured permission from the government and the Indians to open a mission, they first met the basic requirements of the agreements and opened a school. Each missionary, however, came to the field convinced that the Indians could be converted, and that the program of the particular church he represented was the best fitted to bring the heathen to Christ. With this faith, in spite of the difficult physical handicaps that many of the missions faced, the missionaries remained optimistic about the final result of their endeavor.

The five missions remained in a period of optimism for different lengths of time since the missions faced different circumstances with each tribe. No two missions were started at the same time, no two agreements were exactly alike, and, of course, no two missions were served by the same personnel. Yet each mission had a period of optimism. The length of the period appeared to have little to do with the enthusiasm of the mission-

³⁹ Letter from Schoenmakers to Harvey (October 1, 1850), Cited by Graves, Life and Letters of Rev. John Schoenmakers . . . , 29.

⁴⁰ Graves, Life and Letters of Rev. John Schoenmakers . . . , 36.

aries, their experience with the Indians, or their ingenuity. Indian response to the mission was influenced more by prior experiences the tribe had had with Christians and with other missions, or by the conversion of an important member of the tribe. Outside forces, such as sickness and war, tribal unity and land treaties, often determined whether or not the mission thrived.

CHAPTER IV

THE PERIOD OF DOUBT

The change from the period of optimism to that of doubt was marked by the changed attitude of the missionary to his work. Events that at one time were considered a challenge now became impossible hurdles for the missionary. The fortitude of a missionary's character was not the only factor in the transition, because each mission faced different challenges and obstacles in the conduct of the program.

Methodist Kickapoo Mission

The early success of the Methodist Kickapoo Mission was aided by the alliance between the Methodists and Kennekuk. As long as this relationship was maintained, the mission remained in the period of optimism. But when problems arose between the Prophet and the Methodist missionary, the mission lost most of its congregation.

As early as 1835, the Annual Report of Indian Affairs took issue with the Methodists and their association with the Prophet. Isaac McCoy said, "He appears to have little knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity, only as his dogmas happen to agree with them."¹ The Methodists did not agree with this conclusion for another four years.

The problem that the Methodists had with the prophet became apparent in 1839 when the Methodist school was closed. The announcement that something had gone wrong at the Kickapoo Mission appeared in a February, 1840, report by Thomas Johnson.

¹ Isaac McCoy, Annual Register of Indian Affairs (Shawano Baptist Mission House, Indian Territory: Isaac McCoy, 1835), 30.

A heavy cloud has been hanging over this mission for nearly a year past, caused chiefly by the Prophet, who is the leader of the Christian band, having been involved in the sin of polygamy, which he was unwilling to give up, consequently as he did not see how he could sustain himself as a Christian, professing to follow the Bible, while he indulged in a practice forbidden in his precepts, he has been using every means in his power to alienate his people from us, and so set up for himself.²

Another report of the same year indicated again how influential the Prophet had been in the Methodist Church. Rev. Jesse Greene reported to the Missouri Conference Missionary Society that,

Kenekuk, the leader of what is called the Christian band, at a late camp meeting came forward, and with strong marks of true repentance desired to join society, and pledged himself that he would use every exertion to bring his whole band back into the church, from which most of them had become alienated by his example and influence.³

The withdrawal of Kennekuk and his followers was reflected in numerical reports of the mission. In 1835 forty were reported in the school; only sixteen were reported in 1839. Early in 1837, Thomas Johnson traveled to the Kickapoo reservation and held a two-day meeting. He claimed that from four to five hundred were present and two hundred took communion. "It was to me a time of unusual interest, to see and hear the Christian Indians of different nations, speaking different languages, all uniting their petitions at a throne of grace, and all wrought upon by the same spirit."⁴ This 1837 meeting should be contrasted with a meeting held in 1843 when only forty to fifty were present. It was reported at the 1843

² Letter from Thomas Johnson to Corresponding Secretary (February 20, 1840), in Christian Advocate and Journal (March 20, 1840), XIV, 122.

³ Report of Jesse Green to the Missouri Conference, in Christian Advocate and Journal (October 28, 1840), XV, 42.

⁴ Thomas Johnson's Journal entry of May 17-18, 1837, Cited in J. J. Lutz, "Methodist Missions Among the Indians in Kansas," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka: State Printing Office, 1906), IX, 200.

meeting, that "some became excited, some wept, and others shouted for joy."⁵ The drop in attendance showed a spectacular loss for the mission. It should be remembered that some of the Potawatomi, who were part of the Kickapoo mission, were moved to their own territory and thus their leaving accounted for some of the loss in the Kickapoo church.

When the prophet refused to support the Methodist mission, Berryman turned to the Pashishi faction of the Kickapoo tribe. In reporting this, Thomas Johnson said,

In the opinion of the Rev. J. C. Berryman, the missionary at this station, the prospects for doing permanent and lasting good at this station were never better than at the present time, and there appears to be some good reasons for this opinion, for several of the most influential men in the Pagan part of the nation who have heretofore held themselves at a distance from us, because they were opposed to the prophet, but now manifest a great desire to understand the Christian religion, and we hope the time is not far distant when they will be brought to feel its power and influence.⁶

The Kickapoo mission was able to retain a few members from the Kennekuk group, but at the end of Berryman's service at the mission, 1839, most of the members of the church were from "the other portion of the nation."⁷ Two influential members of the Kennekuk group, Eneas and Peshawgen, remained with the Methodists and were employed by the mission. They preached from house to house at the villages. Eneas was apparently completely absorbed by the Christian message, for he said once, "Thank God for missionary; he came and show me how bad I was, and show me the way to Jesus, and

⁵ Letter of William Patton to C. Elliott (May 8, 1843), in Western Christian Advocate and Journal (June 9, 1843), X, 30.

⁶ Letter from Thomas Johnson to Corresponding Secretary (February 20, 1840).

⁷ Jerome Berryman, "A Circuit Rider's Experiences," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka: State Printing Plant, 1925), XVI, 217.

my heart is very happy."⁸

Thus the Methodists, who had pointed with pride to the success of the Kickapoo mission earlier, were now faced with the embarrassment of reporting that what had been gathered was now gone. The Indian Missionary Conference, while retaining a missionary among the Kickapoo until 1844, did not expect the Kickapoo mission to convert the tribe once the Kennekuk faction left the mission.

Jerome Berryman attributed the episode to the ignorance of the Indians and the ambition of Kennekuk. He viewed the problem as universal.

Does not the heathen world groan beneath the accumulating evils which arise from ignorance, superstition and vice on the part of many and the shrewdness, ambition, and presumptuousness of the comparatively few on the other hand? Every age has produced in every country minds of lofty aspirations, and nothing but intelligence and virtue can prevent the reckless and ruinous adventures of such minds. This class of men must be held in check by the counteracting influence of popular virtue, or they will in time barbarize the world. Our own distracted country is cursed with too many Kennekuks today.⁹

The Kickapoo Catholic Mission

The Jesuits were delayed four months in building a school because the Indian Agent had not received papers authorizing a Catholic mission from the commissioner. After taking their annual retreat in the cabin of the Indian trader and beginning visits to the surrounding Indian tribes, the Jesuits were granted permission to build in August of 1836. The facilities for the school were opened in December, 1836 and the small building adequately housed the twenty who enrolled. The program of the school was

⁸ Letter from William Patton to C. Elliott (May 8, 1843) in Western Christian Advocate (June 9, 1843), X, 31, Cited in "Letters from the Indian Missions in Kansas," Collections of the Kansas Historical Society, XVI, 255.

⁹ Berryman, "A Circuit Rider's . . . ," 217.

more ambitious than the Methodist Kickapoo school, where the faculty consisted of Berryman and at times an assistant. In the Catholic school, Rev. Christian Hoecken taught English and acted as superior, Rev. F. Verryedt taught music, and G. Miles taught penmanship. After the school was opened, another building was completed which served as residence for the Jesuits and chapel for the mission.

It should be remembered that while the Catholics baptized infants and dying Indians whenever possible, they did not baptize adults or those that they held accountable, without instruction. Van Quickenborne traveled south and baptized twenty-five infants among the Peoria Tribe, but refused "the sacrament to a number of other Indian children who had attained the age of reason but were without the necessary previous instruction."¹⁰ Father Van Quickenborne said of this situation, "It is one thing to come to the Indian mission and another to convert the Indians."¹¹ The Jesuits were concerned that at the end of 1836 the Kickapoo Catholic church only numbered two members, and both of these were children.

Father Verhaegen, Jesuit Superior of St. Louis, visited the Kickapoo mission in January, 1837, the month the school was certified. He was optimistic when he reported, "Many of the Indians among whom they live are well disposed toward the Catholic religion and several of them have expressed a desire of being instructed." At the same time, however, he was concerned about the response of the majority to the mission.

However, most of them are still averse to a change of their superstitious practices and vicious manner. Of the 1000 souls that con-

¹⁰ Gilbert J. Garraghan, The Jesuits in the Middle United States (New York: The American Press, 1938), I, 403.

¹¹ Letter from Van Quickenborne at Kickapoo Mission to McSherry (June 29, 1836), Cited by Garraghan, I, 397.

stitute both villages, hardly thirty regularly attend church on Sundays. Many come to see us on week days and by the instruction which they receive during these visits are insensibly to be prevailed to come to hear the word of God.¹²

Van Quickenborne became restless in the spring of 1837 for more Indian missions to be established. While he was vigorous when establishing new institutions of the church, he was quick to tire of a project. While Garraghan attributes this trait to his personality, it should be remembered that the enthusiasm of Van Quickenborne for a project lasted as long as a project looked promising. Such was the case at both the Kickapoo mission and at the St. Regis school. Thus, Van Quickenborne's loss of enthusiasm indicated that he felt the mission would not flourish.

Van Quickenborne's discontent with the Kickapoo mission was expressed in a letter to his superior. He asked why Jesuits were not being sent to the Rocky Mountain area when some of the Indians from that region had requested that resident Catholic priests be sent. The response of the superior, Father Roothan, was,

though I greatly desire that one or other station and even a number of them be opened up among the Indian tribes, still I should think that we ought to make haste quite slowly and not take another station in hand before the first has been firmly established. I see well enough the necessity of cultivating a little farm; I have only this one recommendation to make, that the labor spent upon it be not greater than necessity requires, so that our missionaries will not in any way, as far as possible, be diverted by cares of this nature from their spiritual ministry.¹³

Van Quickenborne's "idiosyncrasies of temperament"¹⁴ set him at variance with the mission staff and he was ordered to Portage des Sioux near St.

¹² Letter from Verhaegen at St. Louis to McSherry (July 10, 1836), Maryland-New York Province Archives, S. J., New York, Cited by Garraghan, I, 404.

¹³ Letter from Roothan to Van Quickenborne (May 22, 1837), Cited by Garraghan, I, 408.

¹⁴ Garraghan, I, 408.

Louis, where he died in August, 1837, two months later.

The departure of Van Quickenborne signaled a series of disappointments. While the Catholic mission attempted to minister to both factions of the tribe, the main exertion of the program was to the faction led by Pashishi. It was hoped that the Kennekuk faction would be attracted to the Catholic mission, but Kennekuk, in 1837, led several unfriendly demonstrations against the Catholics. About the same time, Pashishi began to show a hostile attitude to the Catholic mission. "The cry was soon raised among the Indians that the Catholic school was not needed. They had a school already, that conducted by Mr. Berryman, the Methodist."¹⁵ Others began to say, "We want no prayer . . . our forefathers got along very well without it and we are not going to feel its loss."¹⁶ Even though Verhaegen spoke well of the mission, he informed the Secretary of War in 1837 that the mission was having little effect on the Indians and that drinking was so bad a Kickapoo chief thought, ". . . in a few years it will destroy all my people."¹⁷ Verhaegen began to look for greener pastures by offering Catholic missionaries to tribes that were more remote than the Kickapoo.

The school that had recorded twenty students in 1837, including the son of a chief, recorded in 1838 an attendance of eight. This report caused the government to withdraw financial support from the mission. The Jesuits claimed the annual cost of operating the mission was \$1500, and that the mission buildings had cost \$2,000. The total they received from the government was \$1,000. As the financial battle continued, the missionaries gave

¹⁵ Ibid., 403.

¹⁶ Ibid., 406.

¹⁷ Letter from Verhaegen at St. Louis to Secretary of War (November 5, 1837), Indian Office MS Records, Cited by Garraghan, I, 414.

more and more attention to the Indians surrounding the Kickapoo and the future of the mission remained in doubt.

Kickapoo Presbyterian Mission

When William N. Honnell arrived at the site of the Kickapoo Mission, he was confronted with three problems: the mission building was not completed so the school could not be opened, his staff was sick and could give him little help, and both the Indians and the Indian agent resented the school and the missionaries.

While waiting for the school to be completed, Honnell preached at white settlements near the mission. Just two months after arriving in Kansas, he wrote,

I have two large settlements near me where I preach and I feel almost like asking you to try to send me some money to build two temporary churches. . . . We can build up churches here now much better than any other church. But you wish rather to hear about the progress of the Mission. . . .¹⁸

Whether Honnell saw from the very beginning the futility of operating the mission among the Kickapoo and turned to greener fields of work, or whether he believed that the success of the Kickapoo mission necessitated a close affiliation of the mission with the white settlements surrounding the reservation, is not clear.

Even though his main enthusiasm was for mission churches among the whites, Honnell opened the school in December of 1856 with an enrollment in the twenties. The morale of the staff was not high, probably because of illness which still plagued the mission. To improve morale, Honnell

¹⁸ Letter from W. N. Honnell to Lowrie (September 24, 1856), Kickapoo Missionary Papers at Presbyterian Historical Society (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), Box 103, Volume III, Letter 10.

asked the Secretary of the Mission Board to write friendly letters to other members of the staff. The school remained in session until spring when a smallpox epidemic forced suspension.

About this time, Royal Baldwin, the Indian agent, reported to the Presbyterian Board that the school was not operating because Honnell was absent and the remainder of the staff was too sick to teach the children. Honnell was removed from his post shortly thereafter, and in his defense, he blamed the failure of the school on the Indians. However, evidence showed that Honnell was speculating in land for the purpose of founding white settlements, and, thus, his defense was ignored.

It is ironic that in a later report the same year, Baldwin also blamed the Indians for the failure of the school.

It is a subject of extreme regret that so many of the Indians are so averse to sending their children to this or any other school; they know they are well fed and clothed and cared for, and yet they prefer having them with themselves and raise them in idleness, half naked, with scarcely anything to subsist upon. They think and believe, that if they become educated and learn to be industrious and frugal farmers and housekeepers, they will be lost to themselves and their nation. I can account for this only by their own degraded condition and ignorance. I shall endeavor to get as many as possible to send their children to school and fit them for the great change that awaits them.¹⁹

E. M. Hubbard, who temporarily supervised the mission after Honnell's dismissal, filed a report with the Commissioner at the same time, appealing for help from above to effect a change in the mission and in the Indians.

I would say we are endeavoring to teach the boys all they are capable of understanding, and we humbly trust, by the help of Him who rules the universe and governs the destinies of all nations and tribes, that He will open the minds of the benighted heathens to receive knowledge so that they may be taught the plan of salvation, and be influenced to turn from the error of their ways and follow Christ

¹⁹ Report of R. Baldwin to Indian Commissioner (September 3, 1857), Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Washington: W. A. Harris Printer, 1858), 163.

their savior, to whom they will have to give an account in the final day of judgement.²⁰

Even though the Indians were adverse to formal education, Rev. A. S. Thorne, the second superintendent, had the school in operation a month after his arrival in November of 1857. The enthusiasm that he brought to the mission was short-lived because he undermined the confidence of the staff by his authoritarian method of teaching and by his gossip. Rev. Thorne asked that Hubbard not be returned to the mission because "I do not feel like laboring with a man who will not work with his hands when the good of the mission demands it."²¹ Miss Shields, who was a sister of Mrs. Hubbard took a Christmas vacation and chose not to return. In January, 1858, the farmer, Mr. H. W. Honnell, brother of the former superintendent, resigned. With only Miss Mary Conover to help, school attendance declined.

Kickapoo attendance at the school was also influenced by the unsettled conditions of the tribe. There were always rumors of the tribe selling their present reservation for another in the south. The pressure for more land by the white settlers surrounding the reservation, and their eagerness to furnish liquor for the tribe increased apprehension. The Indian agents during this period were unscrupulous in conducting Kickapoo business.

While this tribal turmoil encouraged the Indians to be apathetic toward the school, Thorne's authoritarian methods at the school increased Kickapoo resistance to the mission. The methods also caused the resig-

²⁰ Ibid., 164-65.

²¹ Letter from A. S. Thorne at Kickapoo Mission to Lowrie (December 1, 1857), Kickapoo Missionary Papers, Letter 70.

nation of Miss Mary Conover in the summer of 1858. Agent Badger described one complaint that the Indians had.

One of the rules of the school was, that when a child came he should be clad in a new suit of clothes, furnished by the mission, his old ones being burned or thrown away. He was then told that he must not wear his new clothes home without permission. Some, however, did go home, (not obtaining permission), when they were followed, and their clothes taken away. Others were sent home entirely naked. The Indians, not liking this course of procedure withdrew their children entirely.²²

Another example of the strict discipline required at the mission by Rev. Thorne was his method of punishment. When the students did not give quick obedience to the missionaries, Thorne gave them cold water and a piece of bread for the next meal. He observed that by this method the students were "quite as prompt and quick as white boys." Thorne prided himself that none of the missionaries had ever "touched a single scholar with a rod."²³

The Indians also complained that the school required more work than study. It was Thorne's custom to have the students study in the morning and work in the afternoon. With complaints coming from the Indians and with the staff desertion, Thorne realized a radical change was necessary for the mission. Before he was asked to leave the superintendency, he suggested the following plan for a school.

Let the government give us land out of the public lands far away from the tribe and from the whites . . . let the buildings be put up by public charity -- let some forty acres be broke and fenced -- a garden, yard, and play ground be fenced in with such high fences that no Indian boy could climb them -- a barn, cow sheds and other

²² Report of W. P. Badger to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis (September 20, 1859), Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of 1859, 513-4.

²³ Letter from A. S. Thorne to Lowrie (January 1, 1858), Kickapoo Missionary Papers, Letter 74.

necessary out buildings put up. . . . With all these preparations made to begin with, I would not be afraid to undertake to carry on the school without further aid, provided the Indians would agree . . . the Department would promise to enforce that agreement, that forty scholars should be furnished, that they should be between the ages of five and ten and that each one should stay at least five years.²⁴

Rev. R. B. McCullough became the third superintendent of the mission in the fall of 1859. He opened the school with high hope, but only to face again the unsettled conditions of the Kickapoo and in the spring of 1860, the enrollment was so low that the Presbyterian Board closed the mission.

Thus the enthusiasm when arriving at the mission and the optimism of opening the school always turned to the disappointments of seeing the school decline. The missionaries had the best of intentions, but after a few months, it became clear that their efforts were futile.

The Osage Protestant Mission

Union Mission

The missionaries of Union passed to a period of doubt shortly after arriving. The main party arrived at the mission in February, 1821; on August 24, 1821, Vaill wrote in a letter to the Secretary of the United Foreign Missionary Society:

After a lapse of three months, I sit down amidst a multiple of concerns to write to the Board. We have been visited, the summer past, with sickness. Dr. Palmer is now quite ill. Of seven hired men, not more than three or four are able to help us, the rest being unwell. Our business has consequently moved on with less rapidity. Were the Board on the ground, I think they would not hesitate to acknowledge that we have hitherto labored under many embarrassments. The idea of erecting mills and permanent houses in a year, we find

²⁴ Letter from A. S. Thorne to Lowrie (December 13, 1858), Kickapoo Missionary Papers, Letter 123.

preposterous. We have to break cattle to the yoke, and make other preparations. Bro. Woodruff has not been able to work at the shop for more than two months. One building after another has been necessary. We have found a lodging room for the hands indispensable; then a school, a kitchen, a joiner's shop, etc. Considering how far we have to go for logs and puncheons, it cannot be expected that a log building can be finished in a week. The difficulty of finding sawyers also retards the building of the large house contemplated.

We intend to commence our mill this fall, but know not where to set them. Grand river is too rapid in high water, and in low water it will not answer the purpose. Besides, it is too wide for a mill dam. The creeks have water but a small part of the year.

The war is not yet ended. Still our peace has not been invaded, for we have dwelt in safety. The Osages have set out for another hunt. They have agreed to suspend hostilities for the present. The Osages on the Arkansas greatly need an agent. They think they have been neglected, and we believe they have reason to think so.²⁵

A letter written six months later read the same. Vaill explained that war preparations continued and that if the property of the Society were attacked, the staff would protect it. However, he concluded the letter, "Our hearts were never more closely bound to the missionary work. The Family are united and happy."²⁶ This was a pathetic afterthought to a letter filled with disappointment.

The missionaries felt they had only aided the Indians in war, but they hoped that the war would end and they could serve more effectively. Since the war continued, Chapman and William Requa were able to prepare by January, 1822, a dictionary of two thousand Osage words and were working on a grammar. The mission farm was also producing food which helped cut the expense of the mission.

²⁵ Letter from Vaill at Union to Domestic Secretary (August 24, 1821), in American Missionary Register (December, 1821), 212, Cited by William W. Graves, The First Protestant Osage Missions 1820-1860 (Oswego, Kansas: The Carpenter Press, 1949), 50.

²⁶ Letter from Vaill to Domestic Secretary (December 10, 1821), in Missionary Herald (May, 1822), 146; Cited by Graves, 52.

In the spring of 1822, the missionaries again talked with Osage chiefs and asked them why they did not send their children to the mission. The chiefs replied that they feared for their children because of the war-like actions of the Cherokees. An entry in the Mission Journal expressed the frustration of the missionaries. "Poor people, we pity them. We are much tried. For while they are looking to us for help, we do not know what to do for them."²⁷

In July of 1823, the school that had been open for almost two years had an enrollment of seven. With the value of the mission property already amounting to \$24,000, the missionaries expressed their complete reliance upon God.

There is good reason to hope that this wandering tribe, by the blessing of Him who rules the earth in righteousness, and who has required us to send the gospel to every nation, will soon be brought to taste the comforts and enjoy the privileges which religion and civilization afford.²⁸

Chief Clamore recognized the missionaries' disappointment and told them, "Don't be discouraged my son, my people will soon see the superior advantages of your way of living."²⁹

In 1823 the missionaries at Union, almost in desperation, discovered that a few of the Osage were willing to build homes and cultivate lands. They resolved,

That Brother Chapman and Brother Requa be appointed to live among them and aid them in their business by kind influence and Christian example; as this will probably facilitate the study of the language and afford

²⁷ Union Mission Journal entry of March 11, 1822; Cited by Graves, 54.

²⁸ Missionary Herald (July, 1823), 213; Cited by Graves, 57.

²⁹ Union Mission Journal entry of May 28, 1823, Cited by Graves, 58.

the best opportunity for communicating religious instruction; in aiding the Indians in this settlement we avoid additional expense on the Board; that we lend those who attempt to form a settlement ploughs and such utensils as they need; that as soon as they are ready to go forward, Bro. Chapman enter upon the duties of the above appointment.³⁰

As a result, the two missionaries moved four miles north of Union and named the new settlement Hopefield. In the spring of 1824, Hopefield had attracted five families. Before the year was finished, the number had increased to eleven. The apparent success of this project was not recognized by Union missionaries, for William Requa wrote in 1825 that the project suffered from lack of such essential equipment as axes, harnesses, and hoes.

Even though Hopefield suffered from drought and flood, the station reported in 1828 that 115 people representing 16 families resided there. The lack of Indian enthusiasm for the project and its slow progress was reported to the American Board which was now in charge of all the United Foreign Missionary Society stations.

This first experiment to induce the Osages to labor regularly, as the means of obtaining a comfortable subsistence, has, considering their immemorial habits and usages, been remarkably successful. . . . The males consider it much less disgrace to labor, than they formerly did. . . . Some of these settlers have entirely refused to go upon the hunting and war expeditions; and others manifest much less interest in such things, than they heretofore have done. Several of the families inclose small gardens, and seem quite desirous to possess cows, hogs, and fowls. Some have become very industrious in the prosecution of their labor generally.³¹

Because of the treaty of 1828, Hopefield was moved 20 miles to the north of its first location. Requa reported in 1830 that the Indians were more disposed to live in peace and that they were attending religious ser-

³⁰ Union Mission Journal entry of September 22, 1822, Cited by Graves, 59.

³¹ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Annual Report (October, 1828), 90-93, Cited by Graves, 200.

vices more frequently. By 1832 twenty-two families were settled, but doubt about the project's success was expressed in the closing paragraph of a report:

We trust the Lord has begun a work of reformation and grace, which he will perfect in the day of his power. In our social and religious meetings several pay good attention, come regularly, and appear to feel the importance of the subject of religion. We would take courage and faint not, trusting in God and the good word of his grace; hoping that this word will accomplish that whereunto he doth send it.³²

Harmony Mission

The Harmony missionaries made many adjustments to the changing conditions of the Osage. When the mission was founded, progress was slowed by war with the Cherokees. When the Osage returned to normalcy, the factory near the mission was closed, and many of the Indians moved southwest. In spite of these handicaps, the school's enrollment grew, the sub-station on the Neosho prospered, and the missionaries were well received on their northern trips.

However, when the treaty of 1825 put Harmony outside of Osage territory, the missionaries were unable to adjust. They continued to work, but the period of optimism had ended. Following 1825, the instances of mission rejection increased because of Indian superstition and the refusal of the tribe to allow preaching. In 1826 Rev. Dodge stated in his report,

What is finally to be done with these poor Osages, is yet to be known. They are a wild, warlike people, having but little intercourse with civilized men, and much less with those who love and obey the gospel. God is able, indeed, to convert the Osages in a day, either with or without means; but we are not to expect this, but are rather called to a work of patience, of faith, and of perseverance in the ways of his appointment, in humble reliance on the divine promise that the heathen shall be given to the Lord Jesus for an inheritance and the utmost parts of the earth for a possession. Was it not for the promise

³² Missionary Herald (November, 1832), 28, 360, Cited by Graves, 205.

of God, we might reasonably despair when we look at the present state of this people wholly bent on pursuing the path which leads to ruin. . . . O let our Christian friends pray for us who are stationed in this thirsty land, that we may not faint in the good work whereunto we are called.³³

In a report of 1829, the missionaries were concerned that the Osage had neither an understanding of what it meant to sin against God nor any feeling of guilt. The missionaries promised to continue instructing the natives, but noted that their access to the tribe was limited. The school remained open with 29 scholars enrolled.

When White Hair and his followers moved to the Neosho in 1823, the missionaries compensated for the loss by sending Rev. Pixley fifty miles from Harmony to settle with the group. With the help of Samuel Bright, he was to "form a small, economical, agricultural establishment . . . to encourage and help the Indians in the use of their means, to cultivate fields, to build houses, and thus become fixed and permanent. . . ."³⁴ No cash was to be expended for buildings or farming. With all these restrictions, the sub-station Neosho was opened and operated a school until 1829.

In 1831, after the Neosho station was closed, Rev. Dodge founded the Boudinot mission with objectives similar to those of Neosho. In 1832 he reported his schedule.

. . . I have preached, during the last year, on the Sabbath, eighty sermons, forty-seven at the stations and thirty-three to the Indians. Fifteen Sabbaths I could obtain no audience among them, but conversed with individuals, and from lodge to lodge. At White Hair's town, preached fourteen sermons, . . . and although there is nothing special among this people at present, in their inquiries respecting their eternal interests, yet I cannot but hope that they are increasing in Christian knowledge, and that they will ere long be subjects of converting grace. . . . I sometimes feel great discouragement, while I look around upon this people and behold them sinking into their graves

³³ Missionary Herald (May, 1827), 149-50, Cited by Graves, 149.

³⁴ Harmony Journal entry of July 12, 1824, in American Missionary Register (November, 1824), 333, Cited by Graves, 182.

entirely unaffected by the gospel. . . . With such views of the subject, I feel sometimes almost to despair, but when I reflect again that with God all things are possible and that it is man's business to speak to the ear, and that it is God alone who can speak to the heart, I again take courage.³⁵

Two years later Dodge believed that Boudinot would be a good location for a school where Osage children could be taught in their own language. His report also indicated his dissatisfaction with the mission during the previous two years. Thus, Harmony Mission and its sub-stations, in spite of adjustments to the removal of Indians and the closing of the factory, displayed discouragement.

The Osage Catholic Mission

Three events during 1851-52 caused the Osage Catholic Mission to move from a period of optimism to a period of doubt. First two epidemics, black measles and scurvy, severely hampered mission work. The black measles epidemic began at school and took the lives of thirteen children. During the scurvy epidemic, which caused 800 deaths, the mission was almost helpless.³⁶ The Indians, in panic and confusion, felt the mission to blame and tried to burn the mission to destroy the book in which Father John Bax had recorded baptisms of many children who died during the epidemics. So shaken were the Indians that many never returned their children to school. Later, Father Paul Mary Ponziglione wrote that, "It is difficult for me to tell how bitterly we all felt the loss of these poor people."³⁷

³⁵ Letter of Dodge (March 12, 1832), Missionary Herald (September, 1832), 291-92, Cited by Graves, 214.

³⁶ This figure varies from a 1500 estimate by Graves, to an 800 estimate by Fitzgerald.

³⁷ Paul Mary Ponziglione, The Osages and Father John Schoenmakers, S. J., A MS book at the Missouri Province Archives, S. J., St. Louis, 201.

The second event that caused the period of optimism to close was the death of Father Bax. While working almost day and night to give what medical relief was available and to baptize all approaching death, he fell victim to the epidemic. He was moved to Fort Scott, where, in the summer of 1852, he died in the presence of Father Schoenmakers and Bishop Miede.

A third disappointment to the mission was the death of Chief White Hair. The Jesuits had finally convinced White Hair of the advantages of civilized life. He was baptized in 1851, and about the same time, he agreed to settle and farm. Father Bax described White Hair as an intelligent Indian who knew that both his baptism and settlement "might have good effect on the mass of his people, and he determined to make a trial."³⁸ However, a few months after settlement, White Hair died of pneumonia. The death of White Hair, so soon after becoming a Christian, became ample evidence for medicine men to convince the others that the same consequences awaited all who followed his example.

In order to recover the numerical loss of the Osage children taken from the school following the epidemics, the Jesuits enrolled children from other tribes. Twenty-seven Quapaw were attending in 1853. Ponziglione reported that the school at different times had children from the Miami, the Peoria, the Wea, the Piankeshaw, the Cherokee, the Creek, and the Kansas tribes. The Indians, however, had lost confidence in the mission, and the usually optimistic reports of superintendent, Father Schoenmakers, began to include complaints.

Our Osages are yet in the full state of fallen nature, and have contracted or learned but few weak habits or prejudices, excepting those of unreasonable superstition. The civilized infidel may think himself satisfied when he lives in the hope of bodily gratifications, but it will not satisfy our Osages. They feel that they have a soul,

³⁸ Ibid., 167.

and acknowledge, with the Athenians, the existence of a God whom they know not. I have heard many an Indian say "What good will it do me if I wear out my body by labor, and tomorrow perhaps I must die?" Explain to them that the soul does not, raise them above the brute, cultivate their understanding with motives of a future and permanent happiness; by these means the wheels of civilization will be brought in motion and will receive activity from the rising generation.³⁹

Schoenmakers reported in 1854 that the Quapaw children were not returned to school and that of the Osage pupils attending, only ten were regular in attendance. He also mentioned the problem of polygamy among the tribe. He had hoped that the female students, with a good education, would help eradicate this sin. In a Dialogue, written in Osage by Ponziglione for tribal use, the Christian attitude toward marriage was printed.

If you enter the ways of God you must marry only one wife - God forbids to have more than one wife. One wife will love you; three four will not, will be a trouble.

You will stay with your wife all the time of your life - you will love her always - you will have all your children baptized by the Priest.⁴⁰

In the report of 1854, Schoenmakers mentioned the drop-out problem. When the children had learned sufficient English parents took them out of school and employed them as interpreters. The missionaries knew from experience that once Indian children were back among the tribe, they were unable to reject tribal customs. Schoenmakers suggested that the government should offer a financial incentive for the Indians at graduation, and should discourage parents from taking their children out of school.

The mission facilities before 1851 included a two story building

³⁹ Letter from Schoenmakers to A. J. Dorn (August 28, 1856), Cited by Wm. W. Graves Life and Letters of Rev. John Schoenmakers, S. J. Apostle to the Osages (St. Paul, Kansas; Commercial Publishers, Parsons, 1928), 61.

⁴⁰ Paul Mary Ponziglione Dialogue I, in MS collection at Missouri Province Archives, S. J., St. Louis.

for the boys' school, a bake house, a wash house and a meat house, plus the facilities that the government had originally furnished. Few new buildings are shown in a painting of the mission that was made in 1865.⁴¹ While the Catholics had been hesitant to start the mission because of lack of funds, no financial problems are mentioned until 1850 when Father Schoenmakers announced that \$1,000 from private sources had been used to construct buildings. After the mission suffered the 1851-52 setbacks, they requested and received an additional \$18.75 for each student registered in school plus the usual \$55.00 that had been paid annually by the government. In 1859 Schoenmakers announced that the mission could not have remained open had it not been for the \$8,000 contributed through the years from Catholic sources, mainly in Europe.

Along with operating the school, the Jesuits had always encouraged the Indians to settle and farm. A government experiment with the tribe in 1848 had proved unsuccessful. According to treaty stipulations, the government furnished log cabins and fenced fields for some of the chiefs. Father Schoenmakers finally persuaded a certain number of them to take advantage of this opportunity. They remained in the cabins for only a short time because the women did not like the increased work of cleaning the large buildings, hauling water from the river, living so far apart from the other Indians, and chopping wood to heat the cabins. Therefore, the Indians left the cabins "full of goblins"⁴² to be burned in the fall by the prairie fires.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, the Jesuits continued to en-

⁴¹ Painting in Rooms of Kansas Catholic Historical Society, St. Benedict's College, Atchison, Kansas, Reproduced in Garraghan, II, 569.

⁴² Ponziglione, Osages and Father Schoenmakers, 163.

courage the Indians to settle. Father Bax saw the problem of settlement as basic to the whole success of the school.

We desire very much the Government would encourage their beginning to cultivate the soil; for unless they, the Osages, change their manner of living, we can expect but little fruit from the education we endeavor to impart to their children; several of the Indians begin to see this as the buffalo becomes more scarce every year; still the traders encourage them very much for hunting, so that we fear some will never change so long as they continue to find any game.⁴³

Schoenmakers even offered to pay the Indians for fencing their own fields. The women availed themselves of this proposition, but once the fields were planted, they refused to cultivate them and again the crops were left to weeds and prairie fires. Ponziglione became so discouraged with this aspect of working with the Indians that he wrote,

It is difficult . . . to write annual letters for there are but few things worthy of notice. From the very beginning of this mission in 1847 . . . very little was accomplished among the aborigines and there is little hope of accomplishing greater things in the future.⁴⁴

Ponziglione, however, did appreciate the example that the Osage half-breeds furnished by farming. With the encouragement that both the mission and the government gave to the project of farming, the number of farms increased from five in 1847 to twenty-five in 1855. In 1870, however, there were still only fifty farms among the Osage.

When Father Paul Mary Ponziglione was sent to the Osage Mission, he assumed the responsibilities of the late Father Bax and visited the many mission stations organized by the Jesuits. More emphasis was placed upon this aspect of the program. Not counting the Osage Mission, seven mission-

⁴³ Memorandum by Bax to Government Official, Archives of Passionist Monastery, St. Paul, Kansas, Cited by Garraghan, II, 529.

⁴⁴ Annual Letters (1854-1862), Cited by Mary P. Fitzgerald, Beacon on the Plains (Leavenworth, Kansas: The St. Mary College, 1939), 127.

ary stations were established between 1847-1852.⁴⁵ Between 1852 and 1860, twenty-four missionary stations were established with twenty of these credited to Ponziglione. Most of these stations were among the half breeds living to the east of the Osage mission.

In his Osages and Father Schoenmakers, Ponziglione described the manner in which these stations were started. During special religious holidays, the Jesuits received invitations to visit French traders. While they were there, the traders invited all of the community to come for the occasion. Once assembled, the Jesuit would hear confessions, offer mass, perform marriages and baptisms, and visit the sick. Thus new mission stations were organized and visited by the Jesuits as often as time permitted.

The many translations that Ponziglione made of Holy Histories, Catechisms, and Dialogues for the Osage served as the basis for the missionaries to learn the language and to converse and instruct the Indians at the villages. By reading the first chapter of Dialogues II, one is able to detect many of the problems that the missionaries were trying to solve as they worked among the Osages.

1. Did you come to prayer this morning?
 Why did you not come?
 I think you tell me the lies?
 If you want God to help you, you must come to prayer.
 Those who do not come to Church on Sunday are bad.
2. You come to see me when you want some tobacco--or want to eat--
 But if I want to talk you of the ways of God, you do not come--
 I always like to see you--I like to give you a piece of tobacco
 when I have it--to feed you if you want--But I want to see you
 in the Church--
3. If you do not come to Church you will never do good--
 If you do not come to Church you will never know the law of God.

⁴⁵ Ponziglione MS stating location of Missionary Stations established by the Jesuits of Osage Mission, in Missouri Province Archives, S. J., St. Louis.

- If you do not come to Church you will never enter the way of God.
4. I am very sorry that some Osages do not care for listening to the word of God.
I fear that this is the cause that some are poor.
If you want to have a good hunt you must honor God.
 5. You must fear God.
God can punish you if you do not care of his words.
 6. You must fear God.
God has sent me here not to feed you--but to teach you God's ways.
He has but me to teach you to do what is good . . . to baptize you--to put you in the ways of God.
 7. I did not come here only to help your children--to teach them the way of God. I came to help you too--
I came to help you all.
So you must believe to me.
You must do what I tell you
Because I tell you the words of God.
 8. If you will do what I tell you will have no fear when you will die.
But if you do not care of what I tell you--God will punish you.⁴⁶

Even though the work of translating continued, the school remained open, and new churches were founded, Father Druyts of the Missouri vice-provincial concluded in 1857 that,

The Osage Indians are vicious and lazy, having no desire to be made Christians or to become good. . . . As to the schools, they were never so flourishing as now. . . . No doubt the schools do good for the time the children are in them, but what becomes of them afterwards? . . . What our Fathers do in this mission apart from the schools amounts to very little and even this little costs them much toil and demands from them privations of every kind.⁴⁷

Whereas the dominant themes of the period of optimism had been enthusiasm, confidence, and progress, the dominant themes of the period of doubt were re-evaluation, disappointment, and frustration. The period of doubt began when the missionaries first realized that the conversion of the Indians was not going to be sudden and efficient and then gloomily recognized that their time and effort spent at the mission might be lost.

In the re-evaluation of the mission program, the missionaries dis-

⁴⁶ Ponziglione, Dialogue II, in Missouri Province Archives, S. J., St. Louis.

⁴⁷ Report of Druyts to Beckx, Cited by Garraghan, II, 534.

covered that the fault of the mission lay not only with themselves, but also with the Indians and the government. As hope for conversion appeared more distant, missionaries became more and more convinced that conversion of the Indians depended first upon their being civilized. One of the earliest expressions of this idea was made by Father Charles Van Quickenborne after a tour of the Osage Indian land in 1827:

1. To make Christians of them you ought first to make them men. They must abandon their savage manner of living which, as practiced by them, is one continuation of mortal sins. . . . A change of the whole nation would have to take place either by the influence of the chiefs or agent or missionary; but neither of these can do it separately, but to do it in concordance is impossible (morally speaking). Several most influential individuals find it to their interest to keep the Indians in the state in which they are. The chiefs by themselves have not power to make laws or regulations binding on the nation, to forbid, for instance, things essentially contrary to a civilized life; neither has the agent. The American eye can never behold a Catholic priest directing or influencing both agent and chiefs and superintendent and secretary of war to make laws of his own liking. However, without some laws it is impossible to live with them.

2. The fickleness of agents. These like the traders, are mostly keeping Indian women. . . . A missionary living in the nation would easily offend them. Once offended they have it in their power to make the situation of the missionary so cruel that he could not stand it.

3. The plurality of wives and the barbarous custom relating to them. The riches of an Osage consists in having many wives, many girls and many horses. If he has many wives, he has many slaves; if he has many girls, he has many objects which he can sell very dear, for every wife must be bought. When a father thinks his daughter has not a good husband, he takes her away to his lodge and sells her.⁴⁸

All of the missions began to emphasize the idea that the Indians should first "become men." The hope of conversion was still present, but the missionaries did not have the same confidence as before. The missionaries began to speak about conversion "in due time" as God had planned.

⁴⁸ Letter from Van Quickenborne at Florissant to Dzierozynski (October 11, 1827), Maryland-New York Province Archives, S. J., New York, Cited by Garraghan, I, 191-92.

They began to call for more prayers from the churches and reluctantly informed them of the enormity of the program that had been undertaken. During the period of doubt, the missionaries often looked outside the mission for other opportunities to render service.

CHAPTER V

PERIOD OF WITHDRAWAL

The change between optimism and doubt was marked more by the changed attitude of the missionary as he looked upon his work rather than by an actual change in the program of the mission. This was not true during the period of withdrawal. The missionary was now faced with the task of making radical changes in the mission program. When the missionary began to admit that the work had accomplished little that had been hoped, and adjusted the mission program to this understanding, the period of withdrawal had begun.

Methodist Kickapoo Mission

The Methodist Mission flourished early because the Kennekuk band followed their leader. When the alliance with Kennekuk was disrupted, the mission faded fast, but the Methodists withdrew slowly. The school taught by Jerome Berryman was closed in 1839, when the Kennekuk faction revolted against the missionary.

The closing of the school was the first step the Methodists made in withdrawing from the Kickapoo mission. They discovered too late that the chance of retaining Christian principles for children attending a day school was smaller than for those attending a boarding school. When the children had to choose between Kennekuk and the Methodists, they quite naturally followed Kennekuk. Berryman reasoned that if the children had experienced life in a Christian community such as a boarding school, they might not have capitulated to tribal mores.

Since the Methodists did not have extra missionaries, and since they realized the expense involved in maintaining a boarding school, they

decided that the Kickapoo children should be sent to the Shawnee Manual Labor School, since this practice had proved successful with other tribes. However, the Kickapoo failed to respond. In 1838, three Kickapoo attended the school; thereafter no Kickapoo name appeared on the enrollment.¹ Thus the revolt of Kennekuk was completely successful.

The failure to attract the Kickapoo to the Shawnee school did not cause the Methodists to re-open their school among the Kickapoo, and hence this proved to be the beginning of withdrawal from the Kickapoo Mission.

After the school was closed, the Methodists retained Berryman as resident missionary. In 1839, he was sent to Pittsburgh to purchase supplies for the Manual Labor School. He did not return until 1840, when he was sent to the Shawnee School to replace Thomas Johnson, who was forced to resign because of illness. Rev. Nathaniel M. Talbott, who had been a missionary among the Peoria tribe for two years, then became the resident missionary at the Kickapoo Mission.

Most of the missionaries appointed after Talbott were assigned to other tribes as well. It is doubtful that a missionary lived among the Kickapoo after Talbott left mission work in 1844. The Methodists did not receive money from the government, after 1840, for operating a school or a mission among the Kickapoo. The Methodist influence was strong, for Presbyterian missionaries discovered "Methodist" Kickapoos after they opened their mission. Another evidence of Methodist strength is that the Kickapoo requested a Methodist school in 1859.

The apparent failure of the Kickapoo mission led Berryman to say,

¹ J. J. Lutz, "The Methodist Missions Among the Indian Tribes in Kansas," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka: State Printing Office, 1906), IX, 210.

The missionaries agreed generally that the only hope for the Indian race would be found in the plan of absorption, that is, to extend our settlements into their country, giving them homesteads and citizenship among us. They have yet a fine country reserved to them, known as the "Indian Territory" than which there is none more desirable. Here there might be at least one large state organized, which would furnish good homes for missions of industrious people. The present occupants of this territory would be benefited by the settlement among them of a million of Christian people to develop the vast resources of their now uncultivated lands. So I think.²

Thus, the Methodist withdrew little by little from the Kickapoo by first closing the school and leaving only a resident missionary and later replacing the resident missionary by a visiting missionary. The withdrawal was so gradual that the supporters of the Missionary Society hardly noticed it.

Kickapoo Catholic Mission

The Kickapoo Catholic Mission, which began when a small group of Jesuits opened a school and visited surrounding tribes, never became successful numerically, and the government stopped its support in 1839 when only eight students were reported attending. The Catholics were just as concerned about the response of the Kickapoo as was the government. In April, 1838, the advisors to the Missionary Society considered closing the Kickapoo Mission, but decided to remain even if the rumor that the Kickapoo were moving from their present territory proved true. The decision seemed right in view of a conversation that Verhaegen had with the Kickapoo chief Pashishi.

It is I who invited you to come here. I send my children to your school. You have done more good here in a year than others have done in five or six. You have cured our children of smallpox, you

² Jerome Berryman, "A Circuit Rider's Experiences," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka: State Printing Plant, 1925), XVI, 224.

have befriended us in our needs, and you have been kind even to the wicked. The storm which makes the thunder roar above your heads will not last forever. The Kickapoo will change their conduct. Wait at least for another year and then I shall tell you what I think.³

However, in 1839, Pashishi moved south with most of his village, which left the Catholic mission with only the Kennekuk faction to serve. Relations between Kennekuk and the Catholics had never been good and did not improve after the movement of Pashishi south. Thus, the Kickapoo Jesuit missionaries, in September, 1840, were transferred to the Potawatomi Sugar Creek Mission. The missionaries found there a mission which needed enlargement because the Indian response to Christianity was so great. By this time even Verhaegen was discouraged with the Kickapoo, and a month before the Jesuits were transferred, he called the Kickapoo mission "utterly sterile."⁴

At Christmas, 1840, Father Herman Aelen and Father Nickolas Point went to the mission "in order to consume the last Sacred Host which remained in the tabernacle."⁵ The visit revealed that where the missionaries had labored for five years, only one or two could be found to attend a Sunday mass. Thus ended the resident Catholic missionary work among the Kickapoo Indians.

Kickapoo Presbyterian Mission

Since the main concern of the Presbyterian Kickapoo Mission was to keep a school open, the closing of the mission school can be considered

³ Gilbert J. Garraghan, The Jesuits of the Middle United States (New York: American Press, 1938), I, 418.

⁴ Ibid., 419.

⁵ Ibid., 420.

a withdrawal from the mission. Thus, there were two periods of withdrawal during the four year life of the Mission. First, when the school was closed after Honnell was fired, and second, when the Presbyterian Board closed the mission two years later. A. S. Thorne, the second superintendent, always believed that the mission should remain open. He suggested many adjustments in the school, and, even though attendance lagged, he did not think the school so unprofitable that it should be abandoned.

W. N. Honnell, the first superintendent, was more interested in the white settlements near the Kickapoo Mission, and his work in these settlements hastened the first closing of the school. As early as January 31, 1857, Honnell wrote an article publicizing Ladonia, a town which he founded. After citing the advantages of the location of the town, Honnell encouraged emigrants, especially those of the Presbyterian Church, to settle in the new community. This article appeared a month after the Kickapoo school had opened.⁶

The Presbyterian Board replaced Honnell because he was absent so often from the school. In the crossfire of letters written after he was replaced, Honnell insisted that the Board should be as interested in the whites near the mission as in the Indians and concluded that the churches he had started among the whites would "do more good for the Kickapoo in ten years than if I had confined myself exclusively to them."⁷ Honnell increased the antagonism the Indians already felt for the mission by his insistence that the Board ask the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 320 acres

⁶ Letter of W. H. Honnell from Ladonia to Editor (January 10, 1857), Printed in Kansas Weekly Herald (Leavenworth), January 31, 1857.

⁷ Letter from Honnell at Iowa Point to Lowrie (August 31, 1857), Kickapoo Missionary Papers: Presbyterian Historical Society, Box 103, Volume 3, Letter 55.

for the mission instead of the original 160. Though the school was handicapped from the very beginning by Indian resentment, its first closing was the result of Honnell's negligence.

The final withdrawal from the mission came after R. B. McCullough had been superintendent for nine months. It is evident that this closing was precipitated by the poor response of the Indians to the school -- not by the dissatisfaction of the government or by the drain on the mission board budget.

Under the first two superintendents, the expenditures at the mission were heavy. The first year the mission was open, the costs were \$7,038.34. The second year, under Thorne, the costs were cut to \$5,076.75, and the third year the costs were down to \$3,244.91. During the last year of operation, R. B. McCullough was able to trim the expense of the mission to \$2,680.37.⁸ Thus it appeared that the mission, when finally closed, was not a costly operation.

It seems strange that the Presbyterians should close the mission so soon after its establishment when heavy capital investments had been made, but with the Kickapoo tribe unsettled, and with only ten students reported enrolled in school in April, 1859, the board discontinued the mission. Hence, the good intentions of the Presbyterians failed in establishing a Kickapoo mission.

Osage Protestant Mission

Union Mission

After many years of disappointments, Union Mission found itself

⁸ Kickapoo Missionary Papers, Box 105, Letter 228.

outside Osage Territory by the treaty of 1828. The mission was not dismayed, for it reported in 1829 that the expenses of the last two years had doubled because of adding four new houses and a dining hall to the mission property. Such action reflected a note of optimism about the treaty and about the Cherokee and Creek who were settling in the area. The missionaries felt that the location of the mission among the three tribes might bring harmony among them.

However, the complications of assuming such a task were apparent from the beginning. The mission could not serve the Osage because the land the mission occupied now belonged to the Cherokee. The mission could not very easily serve the Cherokee because another American Board mission, Dwight, was located in a more advantageous part of the Cherokee Territory. Thus, in 1833 came the order that the mission should be closed.⁹ The property was eventually used by the American Board as the location for a printing plant for the Cherokee nation.

Outlasting its parent was the sub-station, Hopefield. After being forced to move in 1828 because of the treaty, Hopefield re-located on another site. Reports recorded progress, but with William Requa away during 1834, the Hopefield station closed, and the settlement came to an end.

There is evidence that a third Hopefield existed. An 1837 report of the Board reported that Mr. Requa was still among the Osage. The following is the only report of that station.

A preacher and a school teacher were expected to join him Requa as soon as circumstances would permit. But during the past summer the hostility of the other portion of the tribe . . . became manifest. The cattle belonging to the station were killed and the act

⁹ Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Boston, 1833), 115-120.

justified by the chiefs, and other property seized. . . . So great was the annoyance suffered, and so little prospect of usefulness or even of safety to the settlers and the mission property did there seem to be, that in the month of July, Mr. Requa removed his effects and left the reservation. No mission is maintained among the Osages.¹⁰

Harmony Mission

The missionaries at the sub-station Neosho (formed when White Hair moved from Missouri in 1823), had difficulties with Indian agents. As a result of Rev. Pixley's attack on the agent's absenteeism, a new one was appointed in 1828. However, the new agent, Hamstramck, also proved difficult for the mission. Trouble immediately began between Hamstramck and the missionary when the agent required the Indians living and farming around the mission to move to the main Osage village. The Indian agent then used the vacated land for the agency.

After a series of verbal attacks and counter attacks, a petition signed by four of the Osage chiefs asked that the missionaries be removed from the reservation, which resulted in Pixley closing the station in 1829.¹¹ The American Board in its investigation of the affair did not censure the missionary, but stated that for the time being the station would remain closed. The opportunity never presented itself for a reopening even though Pixley wanted to do so in 1830.

All during the time that Pixley was having trouble with the Indian agents at Neosho, the Harmony Mission staff was slowly declining in number. Dr. Belcher and Samuel Newton left in 1826. Rev. Dodge left in 1829 to preach among the white settlements in Missouri. At the same time an active

¹⁰ Ibid., 1837, 111-2.

¹¹ Cited from W. W. Graves The First Protestant Osage Mission 1820-1837 (Oswego, Kansas: The Carpenter Press, 1949), 192.

church began at Harmony under the leadership of Rev. Amasa Jones, who reported that in 1832, the church had received three Delaware, five Osage, one Omaha, and six children from the mission school.¹² Yet, the 1834 report of the American Board reported that Kingsbury and Byington, sent to investigate the mission, had recommended the staff be gradually transferred. In May, 1836, the Board announced the mission was to be closed and that Rev. Jones would continue preaching to white settlements surrounding the mission.

Catholic Osage Mission

The only mission that did not close during the time period of this study was the Catholic Osage. However, in order to give a complete picture of this mission, the withdrawal of the Catholics from the mission will be discussed. The mission was not closed until 1865, when the Indians agreed in a treaty with the government to cede all Kansas territory. The part played by the Catholics in negotiation of this treaty was significant.

In the first place, Father Schoenmakers was reputed to be a confidante of the Osage tribe at this time.¹³ He advised the Indians that, with the clamor to compensate the Union soldiers with land, and with public opinion in support of the soldiers, the tribe should sell their land to the government. Consequently, the Osages ceded a million acres for \$300,000 and agree to sell another two million acres for not less than \$1.25 an acre.¹⁴ The proceeds of the sale were to be put in a tribal trust. After

¹² Letter of Rev. Amasa Jones on January 1, 1833, in Missionary Herald (April, 1833), 135, Cited by Graves, 156.

¹³ Garraghan, II, 545.

¹⁴ Ibid., 545-56.

this treaty, the diminished reserve of the Osage was in Oklahoma.

In 1868, another treaty was signed that ceded the rest of the property the Osage had in Kansas to the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston Railroad. For these remaining eight million acres, the Indians were to receive twenty cents an acre. Schoenmakers, with many others, opposed the treaty and it was invalidated. In 1880, the same land was sold to the government for \$1.25 an acre. Schoenmakers made sure that the Indians received adequate compensation for their land, but apparently was not concerned about forced sale of the territory. He reasoned that though the Indian removal policy was difficult to justify morally, at least the trust fund that resulted from the sale of these lands amounted to \$8,536,000 and provided the Osage tribe with a considerable amount of wealth from that time forth.¹⁵

The Osages, by the treaty of 1865, deeded the Jesuits the land on which the mission resided. When the Indians moved from the territory, the Osage Mission began to serve the new white settlers. The Catholics did not establish a school for the Osage in their new territory. In 1867, Schoenmakers visited the half-breeds and Indians that had moved to the diminished reservation on the Verdigris River and established a mission station. Father Schoenmakers said, "The instability and the Indian character and their continual moving from place to place renders it very difficult to do any permanent good amongst them. The station built for the Indians turns out to the advantage of the many Catholic families settling in that vicinity."¹⁶

¹⁵ Ibid., 547.

¹⁶ Paul Mary Ponziglione, "Record of Missionary Stations and Churches," MS Cited by Garraghan, 572.

While the missionaries continued to make excursions to other Indian tribes after the Osage left, the mission became a school for the white children in the community. Some Osage children were sent to the mission until government aid stopped. The mission ended in 1865 on the same note sounded by Father Ponziglione in 1862,

While I write these words, the Indians are returning from the hunt. God in His goodness has supplied them with food this time also; but while they exult over the gift received they make no account of the Giver and imitating the ways of the old pagans they congregate in the woods to offer sacrifice to the devil. We have often tried to bring the Osage to a better frame of mind but in vain.¹⁷

All but one of the missions that were established among the Osage and Kickapoo tribes in Kansas were closed before 1860. The one exception was the Osage Catholic mission, which did not end its work among the Osage until that tribe left Kansas in 1865. Obviously, all of the missions were depressed; none of them hoped to accomplish their original task. One can see, however, that the missions could have continued in operation for a long time. At the same time it should be noted that missionary societies were reluctant to close a mission because they felt that giving-up indicated a lack of faith in God. The societies also did not wish to abandon a station after having spent considerable time and money. A society, therefore, had to consider conditions at a mission extremely poor before closing its station.

In addition to judging the mission conditions poor, a society had to present other reasons for closing a field. In closing missions among the Osage and the Kickapoo, societies presented three reasons. The first was that a new way of ministering to the tribe would be more effective. The

¹⁷ Letter of Ponziglione to Beckx (January 6, 1862), Cited by Garraghan, II, 535.

second was that other mission work would be benefited by closing the mission while work among the tribe would not be impeded. The third reason was that, though it was practical to close the mission at the moment, a more appropriate time for mission work might come in the future.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing chapters the differences and similarities between missions among the Osage and Kickapoo have been presented by first providing a brief history of the tribes to 1820, and acquainting the reader with denominational missionary societies. Next, the agreements between the government, Indians, and missionary societies were presented as they developed before any missions were established. In succeeding chapters, mission programs were detailed in three periods so that comparisons could be readily made. There were also four questions asked in the Preface that this research was to answer. Having completed the study, the questions can now be answered.

1. "Did the denominations vary their programs to meet the needs and conditions of different tribes?"

It is evident that each mission changed and adjusted its program to meet particular circumstances that arose among the Indians it served. One discovers that each mission among the Osage conducted a program different from other missions and that each made necessary adjustments. Union Mission, at the Place-of-the-Oaks, began the sub-station, Hopefield, when farming interest was discovered among members of the tribe. The mission also tried to serve the Cherokee, Choctaw, and the Osage after the latter's reservation was adjusted in 1828. Harmony Mission, at the Place-of-Many-Swans, founded the sub-stations of Neosho and Boudinot when the Osage were moved southwest of the mission. Harmony also enrolled Indian children from northern tribes in its schools to make up for the loss of Osage students.

Soon after the Catholic mission among the Osage opened, Father

Schoenmakers went all the way to Kentucky to secure nuns to operate a girls' school. After both the boys' and girls' schools suffered from lack of attendance following the epidemic of 1852, the mission permitted Indian children from other tribes to register. The many Catholic sub-stations were established among the half-breeds to compensate for the poor location of the main mission compound.

Among the Kickapoo Indians, the Catholic and the Presbyterian missions did not remain open long enough to make many adjustments. When the Jesuits were thwarted in their initial endeavor to build a school, they used their time to visit other tribes in the vicinity and to baptize their children. After the departure of the Pashishi Kickapoo faction, the Catholic Mission was closed and the Jesuits sent to the Potawatomi mission. This may be considered an adjustment. The Presbyterian Mission, however, did not make many adjustments. Even though Indian children were given a choice of attending the school as either a day or boarding pupil, the school remained open for such short periods that, unfortunately, it is impossible to judge the mission's ability to adjust to the Kickapoo tribe.

The Methodist Kickapoo mission made many adjustments. The mission did not operate a boarding school, though that was the usual practice of missionary societies at that time. After the Kennekuk faction became disgruntled, Indians of the Pashishi faction were encouraged to attend the mission church and to send their children to the school. When this failed, the Methodists closed the school and encouraged the Kickapoo to send their children to the Shawnee Manual Labor School. The eventual withdrawal of the resident missionary in 1844 was also an adjustment to the Kickapoo circumstance.

It would seem evident, then, that the denominations did vary their programs to meet the needs of the Indians they served. It is unfortunate,

as one looks back on this period, that the missions only reacted to the changing Indian environment and were unable to challenge adequately the forces that sought to exterminate the Indians and to restrict their territory. The churches, by deciding to evangelize the world, had committed themselves to an aggressive program. The competition among missionary societies for tribes to evangelize was not followed by the same aggressiveness once a mission was established. While the missionaries were there to convert the Indians, the missionaries' preoccupation with stopping the hunt, and with keeping their own lands intact caused the Indian to trust the missionary no more than most of the other white men in the region.

It is also unfortunate that the Kennekuk faction, which desired acculturation, became alienated from the Methodist Mission. Of all the Kickapoo, the Kennekuk group was the only faction with which the Americans had made any progress. These Kickapoo had already alienated themselves from the rest of the tribe because of their passiveness. Hence the Kennekuk faction was adrift between the tribe and the white man.

2. "Were there serious theological differences between denominations in conducting mission work?"

The Catholics, both at the Osage and Kickapoo missions, emphasized the sacrament of baptism. Whenever possible, all babies and dying adults were baptized by the priests. In fact, baptism was used as the justification for resident missionary work. The result of this position can be seen by glancing at any of the baptismal records that recorded hundreds of baptisms yearly.

The Presbyterians, on the other hand, did not place the same emphasis on the sacrament of baptism. They were more interested in getting the Indians to live in accord with the Christian faith before being granted

baptism. In order for an Indian to be baptized by the Presbyterians, he had to convince the missionaries that he had received "grace." Once baptized, the Indian was then required to undergo another period of trial before he could be accepted into church membership. Because of this long and tedious process, few Indians were recorded as Presbyterian converts. No Indian was received at Kickapoo Presbyterian Mission; in fact, there is scarcely a mention of one being under "impression." Union and Harmony missions received only a few church members.

The Methodist interpretation of baptism and church membership differed from both the Catholic and the Presbyterian. The Methodists were satisfied that an Indian had "received the spirit" when he would admit his sins and could feel the new life. This usually took place with an emotional outburst. Since the Methodists would accept anyone who was able to acknowledge that he was a sinner and that he had been saved by Jesus Christ, Methodist missions claimed large church memberships. Because few Indians were able to speak English, the confession was often given through an interpreter. However, after Kennekuk and his followers left the Kickapoo mission, the Methodists were more cautious and did not allow Indians to join the church so easily.

It may be concluded that while there were basic theological differences between the missions of different denominations, these theological differences were of little concern to the Indians. Kennekuk's rejection of the Jesuits seemed more political than theological. For instance, the Catholic emphasis upon the Mass in worship and the Protestant emphasis upon preaching were met by the same reaction from most Indians--silence. Whereas the Catholics recorded many as baptized, and whereas the Methodists claimed large church memberships, neither denomination exceeded the Presby-

terians in active membership, even though the latter church could claim only a few. The Catholics continued to educate their baptized members in the same way that the Presbyterians taught Indians yet unbaptized. Thus these major theological differences between denominations were scarcely recognizable when comparing the programs of the different missions.

3. "Was there a distinction made between Christianizing and civilizing?"

It is evident that four of the five missions studied were established so that Indians could be converted to Christianity. The Kickapoo Presbyterian Mission, which tried only to educate the tribe, is the lone exception.

When one considers the competition between missionary societies to garner Indian tribes for denominational mission stations, and when one considers the desire of American churches to "fulfill the scripture" and "convert the heathen," the evidence is heavily weighted towards a program of conversion as opposed to one of civilization. Except in the case of Union Mission, many missionary societies competed to establish missions among the Osage and Kickapoo.

Catholics were not content to remain in St. Louis and operate a small Indian school and to visit the tribes yearly, because they were not able to convert many Indians in this manner. One reason for wanting to open a Catholic mission among the Osage instead of the Kickapoo in 1834, was that early Jesuit contact with the Osage made the tribe ripe for conversion. Again, in a plea for missionaries, the United Foreign Missionary Society, after it had accepted the request from the Osage to open a second mission, noted that the heathen were asking for Christian missionaries, and the church could not withhold the Gospel from them.

Beyond the initial desire to convert the heathen by opening more missions, the emphasis that missionaries gave to the mission program indicates the desire for conversions. As long as membership increased within mission churches, the missionaries were satisfied with their work. When the Pashishi faction of the Kickapoo did not respond to the Catholic program and eventually moved from the reservation, the mission was closed. When the Kennekuk faction left the Methodist Church, the school was closed and eventually only a part-time missionary was sent to the Kickapoo. The lack of contact with the Osage Indians by both Union and Harmony missions caused both to be abandoned.

It is also evident, in reading the letters of missionaries, that conversion was, in their minds, the most important item of their work. Even though the Osage Catholic school was operating successfully, which would bring the Indians to a better position for conversion, the Jesuits observed that most of their work had gone for naught. This same observation was echoed in the other Osage and Kickapoo missions. Only when the Indians were within the church in name and practice, could the missionary feel that his work had been fruitful.

It is necessary, however, to explain the Presbyterian position of civilization and conversion. As has been stated, the Osage Presbyterian missionaries combined the aim of civilizing the Indians with that of Christianizing them. The instructions from the missionary society often spoke of the two as synonymous. It is clear, also, that even though these instructions were given, the missionaries did not feel their work completed until the Indian was converted. Under the Presbyterian system, it was almost impossible for an Indian to be converted without being civilized. Remember that the church required each member to articulate his faith. The local church, which included only the missionary family, judged the truth

of a convert's statements. Consequently, the Indian was required to live close enough to the mission so that a time of trial, which sometimes lasted as long as six months, was held. The Indian was also required to speak English so that all of the church could understand his confession. Also, since the Presbyterian considered the good life to be one of farming and not one of hunting, Indians who became members of the church usually had to accept the white man's way of life. If an Indian became civilized and was still not a church member, Presbyterians were not content until he had been converted.

Thus, by original intent, and by letters from the field, the missionaries distinguished between civilizing and converting the Indians. When they discovered that conversions did not come quickly, the missionaries increased their efforts to civilize the Indian only because they felt this would lead to conversion. The Presbyterians, who by tradition had intertwined these separate functions, were the only exceptions to this rule.

4. "How important was the capability of the Missionary?"

The missions among the Osage and the Kickapoo did not have inferior missionaries. They represented the best that missionary societies were sending to any of the mission fields. Vaill, Montgomery and Dodge of the Osage Protestant missions were respected by other denominational missionaries including Rev. Isaac McCoy. Of all the missionaries in the District, Jerome Berryman was chosen to replace the venerable Thomas Johnson at the Manual Labor School, when Johnson was forced to resign because of health. Fathers Schoenmakers and Ponziglione had long ministries among the Osage and were honored materially by the Osage when the tribe sold its Kansas territory.

Since the Kickapoo and Osage missionaries were not inferior repre-

sentatives of the societies, with the exception of Honnell, the personnel changes that took place did not make a significant difference in the program of the mission. The Kickapoo Presbyterian mission had three directors and none of them were able to establish an adequate mission program. Father Van Quickenborne was relieved of his responsibilities among the Catholic Kickapoo, but Father Hoecken, who later became prominent at the Pottawatomie mission, was unable to keep the mission open. Father Bax was replaced by Ponziglione at Catholic Osage, but the mission did not grow at the same rate that it had.

It would seem, then, that the personality of the missionary did not have the importance that one might expect. Successful mission programs resulted more from the Indians' general attitude toward the white man and toward Christianity than from the individual personality of a particular missionary. It is reasonable to assume that any capable missionary could have taken up a position among the Kickapoo or Osage and accomplished as much as the missionaries that were assigned to the two tribes. Thus the capability of the missionary, as long as he was a kind and benevolent person, made little difference to the Indian who looked upon most white men as being much the same.

Beyond these four specific answers, two additional observations should be mentioned. First, larger mission stations, whatever their denomination, resembled each other more closely than they resembled any of the smaller stations, regardless of denominational similarities.

While all of the missions operated schools, the large Osage missions were run differently from the smaller Kickapoo missions. Harmony Mission had twenty-two on the staff, and its sister mission, Union, began with seventeen. The Osage Catholic mission always had at least two Jesuit

priests who were assisted by a large number of novices and nuns. Not all of these workers were involved in the traditional work of the missionary, that is, conversion of the Indian, but they all realized that their part in the over-all operation was important. Cooks, mechanics, and farmers played crucial roles because they freed the preacher and priest to spend more time with the spiritual concern of the mission.

Both Harmony and Union missions were established with enough helpers to construct a community which could provide all the services of a frontier town. Thus, it is not surprising that Union Mission, although its contact with Indians was limited, continued to expand facilities until the estimated value of buildings reached \$24,000. The Catholic Osage mission, though it was originally much smaller, added to facilities as school enrollment increased until it also had a large mission complex. Both Osage missions received government support for much of these capital investments, but both also depended upon private contributions to underwrite the expensive operations.

The Osage missions had boarding schools where children were taught the value of manual labor as well as book learning. The programs required a large and expensive staff to feed, clothe, and house the children. An important part of these missions was the farm, since the stations were located far from frontier communities, and the missionary station depended upon the farm for food.

The large missions, in contrast to the small, conscientiously conducted a program of adult education in which the main emphasis was farming. Indian warriors did not feel farming necessary since they looked on the hunt as an adequate means of livelihood. But the missionaries continued to insist that the Indians take up farming and, in a few instances, met with success. The missionaries wanted the Indians to farm so that their food

supply would be more regular, so that they would not cause trouble with other Indians during the hunt or during their long periods of idleness at home, and because the farmer's life was more closely identified with civilization. The Catholics once persuaded some Osage chiefs to move into their government-built cabins. Further, Father Schoenmakers paid Indians to prepare fence rails which he then gave to them. The Protestants established the farming community of Hopefield, and one Indian from it traded his surplus at Fort Gibson. Both Osage missions used their farms as displays to try to prove that farming was better than hunting.

As opposed to these large stations, the Kickapoo Methodist, Catholic, and Presbyterian Missions had neither large facilities nor large staffs. The Methodists had the smallest staff of all -- a missionary, his wife, and one hired person. The other missions had missionaries, teachers, a few cooks and some handymen. The Presbyterian Kickapoo had a farmer, but the farm operation was never successful. Neither the Catholics nor the Methodists mention a farm or a farmer. Because there were no farms, the small missions did not conduct a program of adult education, and while they believed the Indian should be settled, they could not pursue this program actively.

Both the Methodist and Catholic Kickapoo Missions operated day schools because of their proximity to the Indian villages. However, one valuable aspect of education was foregone because, with the children at the mission for only part of the day, the mission could not demand manual labor of them.

All of the mission schools, both large and small, used similar methods of teaching. The Indians were taught to read and write the English language from material carefully selected from Scripture. While few of the teachers or missionaries learned the native language well enough to speak

it, the Osage Protestants spent considerable time with language study and printed one book in Osage. Preaching, though, was usually conducted with an interpreter. At the Catholic Osage mission, however, the Jesuits mastered the Osage language, and Father Ponziglione translated many Catholic materials into Osage.

In addition to operating schools, the Catholic and Protestant Osage missions extended their influence to sub-stations. Both Harmony and Union mothered new missions. The program at all Protestant stations was much the same. A missionary lived close to an Indian village and gathered the Indians around the mission. The missionary made frequent trips to the villages to preach. Soon, some of the Indians surrounding the missions would form a community separate from the tribe and eventually become Christian.

The Osage Catholic sub-stations were much different because they were founded among the half-breeds and because they were not furnished with resident priests. The Catholic sub-stations were similar to a Methodist circuit, where preaching points were established and visited by traveling ministers as often as possible. Catholics, however, emphasized the Mass rather than preaching. Hence, one can see more of a difference between large and small mission establishments than between missions of the same denomination.

The second observation that should be made concerns differences that existed between the Indian tribes. While this was mentioned earlier, the point cannot be over emphasized. Both the Osage and Kickapoo were suffering from factionalism, as shown by the two locations for Osage villages, and the three or four locations for Kickapoo villages. While all of the Osage maintained similar tribal traditions such as pursuing the hunt, retaining tribal dress, and ignoring white suggestions for improvement, the

Kickapoo, who had many factions that were the same, also had one faction, that of Kennekuk, which was prepared to make adjustments to the white mans' culture.

This latter group was the first of the Kickapoo to agree to move to Kansas territory, and was the only faction that remained at this reservation. Before Kennekuk lead his followers to Kansas, the group had already made many adjustments to civilized life. As to the degree to which this group began to adopt western habits, Rev. E. Kingsbury, during a visit to Danville, Illinois, in 1831, wrote the following letter about his experiences with the Kickapoo:

After arriving in town, I was informed that about fifty Kickapoo and their prophet were camped outside of town and that the prophet wished to see me. He informed me that he had been labouring five or six years with his people, to get them into the 'good way'. He said that no one had taught him, and that he could not read the Bible, which he believed contained the true words of the Great Spirit. For a long time the red men would not believe him, had laughed at him and despised him; still he continued to teach them what the Great Spirit had taught him. After a long time a few began to believe and regard him, and now he had 347 followers.

. . . They abstain entirely from the use of all intoxicating liquors.
. . . They no longer lie, or swear, or steal, and are very strict in the observance of the Sabbath. So far are they from the spirit of revenge that they offer no resistance to those who use them. . . .

. . . The prophet began by addressing himself to his own people. Very soon many of them were bathed in tears; some wept aloud, and most of them were in a state of deep feeling. When the prophet had done, he ordered the interpreter to tell us that it was not because he had been threatening them, or scolding at them, that they wept so, but because he had told them that they were sinners and must repent of what they had done or thought wrong; and that they must do it now, for they might not have another time. . . .

After he had closed, I addressed the congregation. I could not but reprove the whites, when I compared them with these Indians, who really seemed to be taught by a good spirit, and to improve according to the little knowledge they had. . . .¹

¹ Christian Advocate and Zion's Herald (July 22, 1831), Vol. V, No. 47, 185.

Thus the differences between this group and the Other Kickapoo factions are striking. The inability of the missionaries to work with this group more successfully was not answered in this research. Probably buried in the archives of the Methodist Missionary Society lay the answer.

In conclusion, the most obvious similarity between the five missions studied was the enthusiasm that the missionaries brought to the new field, which was evident in their letters and work, and which resulted in the period of optimism. This period was followed by one of doubt which began when the missionaries discovered the enormity of their task and comprehended the improbability of quick success. During this period, missionaries rationalized their ultimate hopes and compromised their original plans by altering programs which they thought would then, over a longer period of time, produce their earlier goal of conversion. However, even the revised plans did not bring success, and churches withdrew from all missions. In each case, except that of the Methodist Kickapoo Mission, the period of withdrawal was abrupt because the missionaries had carefully refocused the program of the mission in order that their work during the period of doubt would be satisfactory to missionary boards and supporting churches.

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MISSIONS AMONG THE KICKAPOO AND OSAGE IN KANSAS, 1820-1860

by

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S REPORT

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During the period of this study, all Indian tribes residing in the eastern half of Kansas were in contact with missionaries, either by infrequent visitations of a staff member from a mission located among a neighboring tribe, or by a mission and resident staff located on their reservation. The five missions among the Osage and Kickapoo represented both large and small mission stations; both early and late work among the tribes; and, both Catholic and Protestant mission work. In spite of the diversity of tribes and missionary societies, each mission passed through similar phases in its history which made comparison possible.

The first period, "Optimism," received its name from the attitude each missionary carried to the mission field. While a missionary faced difficult assignments and severe hardships among the Indians during all periods, no obstacle was large enough to discourage his confidence that the mission would quickly bear fruit for the denomination he represented. The second period, called "Doubt," began when the missionary realized that the program was not going to produce quickly the results desired. Even though each mission continuously adjusted its program to meet many of the needs of the Indians, the missionary, during this period, realized that a greater emphasis upon civilizing the Indians was necessary. Thus, besides the change of missionary attitude, mission programs emphasized long range objectives. The third and final period, that of "Withdrawal," encompassed the steps taken by missionary societies to close the mission. The desire to convert the Indians was not lost, but the accomplishment of this, as determined by missionary societies, was to take different forms. Hence, the missions studied followed a similar path of gradual decline.

This pattern in the history of the missions indicate that the primary factor guiding mission programs was the desire to convert the Indians to Christianity. Even though others have regarded the mission program as

interested only in civilizing the Indians, this study finds that no missionary was satisfied until the heathen had been brought into the church. Although major theological differences as to conversion were evident in the programs conducted by the denominations, the failure of all missions to receive (in one case to retain) large numbers of Indian church members, suggest that these theological differences were not a significant factor in determining the success of the mission programs. It was also discovered that despite the differences between the Kickapoo and Osage, mission programs were similar for both. In addition, more differences existed between large and small missions than between missions of different denominations. Finally, while all missionary societies sent capable men to their missions, the Indians gave the same response to all, even though some of the missionaries were superior in their understanding of mission work among the Indians.

